



T H E
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POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 335.

In the Debate begun in our last, as soon as A. Hostilius Mancinus had made his Motion, A. Hirtius stood up, and spoke to this Effect, viz.

My Lords,

IF we consider the present Circumstances of this Nation, or the present Situation of the Affairs of Europe, I believe every one of your Lordships will allow, that there never was a Time, when there was a greater Necessity for testifying, in the most publick and authentick Manner, a perfect Unanimity amongst ourselves, and a firm Confidence in his Majesty's Wisdom and Conduct. We are now engaged in a War against one of the most powerful, and one of the most absolute Monarchies in Europe. We have formerly been engaged in War solely for satisfying the Ambition of our Sovereign, or the private Piques and Resentments of some of his Favourites; but during his present Majesty's Reign we can be in no Danger of being en-

gaged in War on any such Account. In every Part of his Conduct he has shewn, that he is swayed by nothing but the Honour of his Crown, and the Happiness of his Subjects; and the present War he did not engage in, till the Obstinacy, Injustice and Violence of the Spaniards made it evident to every Man in the Kingdom, that we could expect no Satisfaction for past Injuries, nor Security against future, by any Thing but by Force of Arms. The War has been hitherto conducted with the utmost Vigour, in the most proper Place, and with as much Success as could reasonably be expected; but every one knows, that from the very Beginning of the War we were, and still are in Danger of having another Enemy to ingage with, more powerful, and more capable to hurt us. This Danger will increase in Proportion to our Success, and nothing can contribute more to our eschewing this Danger, than that of shewing a perfect Harmony and Unanimity amongst ourselves.

With regard to the present Circumstances

circumstances of this Nation therefore, we ought upon this Occasion, if ever, to express our Duty and Affection to his Majesty, our Approbation of his Measures, and our Confidence in his Wisdom and Conduct, in the most full and explicit Terms. And with regard to the present Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*, your Lordships must all be sensible, how ticklish it has been rendered, by the late unfortunate Death of the *Emperor*: By this untimely Accident, those who are professed Enemies to the Repose and Liberties of *Europe*, have got such an Opportunity for carrying their ambitious and dangerous Designs into Execution, as they themselves could scarcely have hoped for. By this Accident, the Princes of *Germany* are left without a Head, (and God knows how long they may continue so) the *Germanick* Body is thereby rendered lifeless and inactive, and the House of *Austria* is on every Side environed with Enemies, ready to tear from it the Whole or a great Part of its Dominions. In this Situation nothing can preserve the Liberties of *Europe*; nothing can preserve the Liberties, the Trade, or the Navigation of this Kingdom, but a speedy Alliance and Confederacy amongst those Princes and States that are Friends to Liberty, for defeating the Designs of those that are its declared Enemies; and the forming of this Alliance or Confederacy will be greatly promoted or retarded by our Behaviour in this Session of Parliament.

All the Princes and States of *Europe* are sensible of the Weight and the Power of this Nation, when we act with Concord and Unanimity. If there appears to be a perfect Unanimity amongst ourselves, and a good Harmony between the King and his Parliament, the several Powers whose Interest it is to preserve the Liberties of *Europe* will put a

Confidence in this Nation, as they have done heretofore, and will readily join with us in a Confederacy for our mutual Preservation; but if in this Session of Parliament we should by any Means shew a Coldness in our Duty and Affection to our Sovereign, or a Diffidence in his Conduct, the other Powers of *Europe* can expect no Assistance from his Majesty; which will make them despair of being able to withstand the Torrent; and the Consequence of this will be, that every one of them will endeavour to make the best Terms they can for themselves, and refuse to join in any publick Concert for opposing the ambitious Designs of those who are, I may say, by Nature as well as Situation, the professed Enemies of *Great Britain*.

Let us consider, my Lords, what a dreadful and dangerous State this Nation will be reduced to, if the Northern Powers should be engaged in a War against one another, and the Flames of a Civil War kindled up amongst the Princes of *Germany*. The several Branches of the House of *Bourbon* will then be left at full Liberty to turn their whole united Force against this Nation, and against this united Force we must stand single and alone; for the *Dutch*, as they lie open to the Continent, and could expect no Assistance from *Germany*, would not dare to assist us. We are already engaged in a War against one of the Branches of the House of *Bourbon*: Another, and the most powerful of them, has already shewn an Inclination to prescribe or limit the Operations of our Arms. In my Opinion, they would have all united in the War against us, long before this Time, if it had not been for the Danger they may be exposed to by our forming a powerful Alliance upon the Continent; and against such an united Force, it is hardly possible

possible for us, in all human Probability, to stand single and alone. It is therefore necessary for our Safety, as well as for our Success in the War we are now engaged in, to prevent, if possible, a War in the North, or a Civil War in Germany. This his Majesty has resolved on, and this he may effectuate, if a due Weight be given to his Negotiations, by letting the World see, that his Majesty will be supported by the united Power of the Parliament and People of Great Britain.

For this Purpose, my Lords, we ought, in our Address upon this Occasion, to express ourselves in as full and explicit a Manner, as ever a British Parliament did to their Sovereign. An Address in general Terms may, at other Times, be right. The Custom of echoing back (as some affect to call it) his Majesty's Speech from the Throne, may, for what I know, be wrong; but it is a Custom that has prevailed for many Years, and I am sure it would be very wrong in us, at this critical Conjunction, to alter that Custom, or to shew less Respect for our Sovereign, than has for many Years been shewn upon the like Occasion; for which Reason, I cannot but approve and second the Motion made by the noble Lord near me.

As this last Motion was the second Motion for the same Purpose, and as by the Forms of Proceeding it was necessary to put a Question upon the first Motion, before the second could be come at, C. Cicerejus stood up, and after explaining the two Motions a little, both which he caused to be read, that they might be the better understood, he said, he supposed the noble Lord meant to propose his Motion as an Amendment to the noble Duke's Motion. If this had been allowed of, the first Question would of course have been, To agree to the Amendment proposed; but T. Quintius stood up, and shewed, that the noble

Lord neither meant nor could mean to propose it by way of Amendment, because the first Paragraph in both Motions was Word for Word the same: That if the noble Lord had meant what he proposed as an Amendment to the noble Duke's Motion, he would have proposed, that the first Paragraph only of the latter should be left standing, that the two other Paragraphs should be left out, and in their Stead, by way of Amendment, he would have moved to insert the Whole of what he has proposed, except the first Paragraph: But this he had not done. According to his Manner of stating his Proposition, it was plainly a distinct and a second Motion, and therefore their Lordships were, by the Forms of Proceeding, to put the Question upon the first Motion. Upon this C. Plinius Cæcilius stood up and said, That he rose up only to speak to their Methods and Order of Proceeding: That he granted the Motions seemed to be two distinct Motions, and therefore if their Lordships did not approve of the first, and had a Mind to come at the second, the proper Way would be to put the previous Question with regard to the first: However he would make no Motion; he spoke to Order only, and would afterwards take an Opportunity to speak to the Merits.

E M. Agrippa then stood up and spoke in Substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

IN this Debate, as well as in a great many others, I find some Lords are mighty apt to run into a Mistake, which is of the most mischievous Consequence in all Parliamentary Inquiries. They cannot, or will not distinguish between his Majesty and his Ministers; but call all publick Measures his Majesty's Measures, and from thence suppose, that those who find fault with any publick Measure, are blaming his Majesty's Conduct, and trespassing against that Duty and Affection they

owe to their Sovereign. This, my Lords, is a most unparliamentary Method of Proceeding; for it is well known, that his Majesty's Name ought never to be brought into any of our Debates. When we take his Majesty's Speech into Consideration, though we have heard it from his own Mouth, yet we do not consider it as his Majesty's Speech, but as the Speech of his Ministers. Tho' we were in our private Capacity convinced, that his Majesty had spoke off-hand, and without Premeditation, or advising with any one of his Ministers, yet when we come to consider that Speech as Members of this House, we are to consider it as the Speech of his Ministers; for while they continue Ministers, they are answerable to Parliament for every Thing the King does or says, and if they think this a Hardship, they may easily avoid it, or get off on't, by refusing to accept of, or by throwing up their Employments.

With regard to all publick Measures it is the same. When we come to consider them in this House, we are to look on them as the Measures, not of the King but of his Ministers, even tho' we were in our private Capacity convinced, that the King had of his own Head pursued those Measures, without consulting with any of his Ministers, and perhaps contrary to their Advice: This, I shall allow, is likewise a Hardship upon Ministers, but it is a great Advantage to the Nation; and it must be allowed, that the Hardship is not so great in making the Ministers and Officers of the Crown answer for what the King does, as in making them answer for what he says; for the King may speak without the Assistance of any Minister or Officer, but he cannot act, he can prosecute no publick Measure without the Assistance of some of his Ministers or Officers.

Therefore, when we hear any Lord advising us to approve of all his Majesty's Measures, to place an intire Confidence in his Majesty's Wisdom and Conduct, we ought to turn it into the proper Parliamentary Language, and then it will stand thus: I advise you to approve of all the Measures pursued by his Majesty's Ministers, and to place an intire Confidence in their Wisdom and Conduct; which is an Advice that I hope your Lordships will always disdain to take. I am sure it would be no Sign either of your Duty and Affection to your Sovereign, or of your Regard to your Country, to follow any such Advice.

My Lords, I have as much Affection for my Sovereign, and am as sensible of the Duty I owe him, as any Lord in this House can pretend to: I have a great Confidence in his Wisdom and Conduct, when he is not misled by his Ministers: But as a Member of this House, I have no Affection for his Ministers; I owe them no Duty; and from what is past, I have no Reason to put any Confidence in their Wisdom or Conduct. Our Enemies may, perhaps, place a Confidence in their Misconduct, but I am sure our Friends, neither abroad nor at home, can place any Confidence in their good Conduct. Therefore, the best Way to restore a Confidence among our Friends abroad, and our People at home, would be, to let them see that this House is resolved to re-assume and exercise its ancient Right of being his Majesty's great and chief Council; and that our future Measures will be advised, not by those who have led *Europe*, as well as their own Country, into Distress, but by a free and independent *British* Parliament. This, I say, would be the proper Way to restore a Confidence in our future Conduct among our Friends, both abroad and at home; and nothing can contribute more

more to this desirable, this necessary End, than our agreeing to the Address proposed by the noble Duke.

If your Lordships compare the two Motions now before the House, you cannot but see the Difference between the Work of a Minister, laying Snares for an Approbation of his Conduct, and the Work of a free and independent Member of this House, expressing his Duty to his Sovereign with Dignity and a true Affection. The noble Duke's Motion appears to be the Work of a good Workman. Whether your Lordships agree to it or no, it will remain upon Record, and will for ever be an Honour to him that proposed it. It is strong: It is *Lacianick*: It expresses in a few Words all the Duty and Affection to our Sovereign, that is meant by the other: It expresses more; it expresses that which is our real Duty, and the best Sign of our Affection to our Sovereign: I mean, that we will exert ourselves in our high Capacity of hereditary great Council of the Crown, to which all other Councils, even his Majesty's Cabinet Council, are subordinate and accountable. Can your Lordships find fault with any one Word in this Motion? Will you weaken it by wire-drawing it, or by adding any undeserved Compliments to the Minister?

If no Fault could be found with any of our late Measures, if all of them deserved the highest Approbation, the noble Duke's Motion would be a proper Motion, and all we should say upon this Occasion. But when our Measures are the Subject of a general Complaint at home, and an universal Ridicule abroad, will your Lordships reject such a Motion, in order to come at a Motion that implies an Approbation of all our late Measures? I say reject, my Lords, for the previous Question is but a Parliamentary Method of

rejecting. When such a Motion as this is thrown out by the previous Question, and another upon the same Subject agreed to, it is as effectually rejected, as if it had been rejected in express Terms, because it can never afterwards be agreed to, which shews a very material Difference between putting the previous Question upon a Motion of this Nature, and putting it upon a Motion that may the very next Day be revived and agreed to. Therefore, if you throw out the noble Duke's Motion, by Means of the previous Question, the whole World will think, we have rejected it, in order to pass Compliments upon our Minister's Conduct. Will this, my Lords, add to the Character of this Assembly? Will it not occasion the most severe Reflections among all those that complain of our late Measures at home, and also among all those that make our Measures the Subject of daily Ridicule abroad?

By rejecting this Motion, therefore, we expose ourselves to the Danger of universal Contempt both abroad and at home: By agreeing to it, we cannot expose either ourselves or the Nation to the least Danger. Can our agreeing unanimously to such an Address as this, be a Sign of any Discord amongst ourselves, or of any Jealousy between the King and his Parliament? Or can it derogate from that Confidence, which we ought to cherish in our Allies? My Lords, if any Discord should arise amongst ourselves, they only are to blame, who endeavour to reject this Motion, in order to make way for some Compliments to our Minister: If any Jealousy should arise between the King and his Parliament, they only are to blame, who endeavour to screen our Minister under the sacred Name of Majesty; and if any Disaffection should arise among the People, they only are to blame, who endeavour to get the

the Parliament to approve of what People in general condemn. By agreeing to this Motion we shall restore that Confidence, which we ought to cherish amongst our Allies: By rejecting it, and approving of our late Measures, we shall reduce them to Despair. They despise our Ministers; they despise their Conduct; their only Hopes are in a free and independent *British* Parliament. If they find that the Parliament continues to approve of the Minister's Measures by the Lump, and without any Inquiry, they will lose the only Hope they have left. They will no longer expect any Change of Measures or Ministers from the Parliament; and they can expect no Wisdom or Conduct from a Minister who has, for almost 20 Years, been demonstrating to the World, that he has neither Wisdom nor Conduct. He may have a little low Cunning, such as those have that buy Cattle in *Smithfield* Market, or such as a *French* Valet makes use of for managing an indulgent Master; but the whole Tenor of his Conduct has shewn, that he has no true Wisdom. This our Allies know and bemoan; this our Enemies know and rejoice in; and this the present dangerous State of Affairs, both abroad and at home, is a melancholy Proof of.

I should avoid, my Lords, the ungrateful Task of shewing the Blunders and Errors in our late Conduct, if the Ministers themselves had not made it necessary for me to undertake it. If they had ask'd no Approbation, I should, for this Day at least, have found no Fault; but as they insist upon having a Parliamentary Approbation, and for that Purpose to have one of the best Motions I ever heard made in this House, rejected, I think I am bound in Duty, both to your Lordships and my Country, to expose the Weakness of their Conduct, and

to shew that the present State of Affairs, both at home and abroad, which they themselves allow to be dangerous, proceeds entirely from their own Blunders. With regard to the present Circumstances of this Nation, we have been insulted and plundered by the *Spaniards*, for almost 20 Years. Did this proceed from the Power of *Spain*, or the Weakness of this Nation? Every one knows it did not. We had it always in our Power to make that Nation feel the Weight of our Resentment; and we let slip several Opportunities, when we might have done it in a most exemplary Manner, when there was no Danger of their being assisted by any Power in *Europe*, and when we were sure of Assistance from our Allies, if they had. From whence then did our dishonourable and destructive Patience proceed? From the Weakness of our Minister, and from that alone: He did not foresee, or for some selfish End pretended he did not foresee, that if we let one Insult pass unpunished, we were sure of meeting with a second. He trusted to Negotiations and Treaties, tho' he knew that such Insults ought to put an End to all Negotiation, and that such Depredations were in direct Violation of the most solemn Treaties. In this Case, was it not evident, that we could trust to no future Treaty, that we could expect no Security in time to come, but by a proper Resentment of what was past? Yet he deferred resenting for almost 20 Years: He continued to suffer notwithstanding the repeated Complaints of our Merchants, and the repeated Addresses of Parliament; and the *Spaniards* continued to insult and plunder. By this Conduct the Nation was rendered so contemptible, that the *Spaniards* thought they might use us as they pleased: This made them redouble their Depredations, and confirmed them

them in their Obstinacy; so that when our Minister found himself obliged, for his own Safety, to insist peremptorily upon Satisfaction and Security, the *Spaniards*, imagining from his former pusillanimous Conduct, that he would not dare to begin Hostilities against them, as peremptorily refused his Demand.

Thus your Lordships may see that the War we are now engaged in, is intirely owing to the Blunder of our Minister; for if the first Insult put upon us by the *Spaniards*, after the Treaty in 1721, had been properly resented, and full Satisfaction and Reparation peremptorily insisted on, the *Spaniards* would not have ventured upon a second, nor should we have had Occasion for any new Treaty, because the old were sufficient, if they had been observed. But this, my Lords, was not all; whilst our Minister, by his blundering Timidity, to call it no worse, was encouraging the *Spaniards* to continue their Depredations, and to persist obstinately in their Refusal of Justice, by another Train of Blunders he was detaching from us every Ally we had in the World, cementing a close Union between *France* and *Spain*, and establishing a lasting Cause of Quarrel between *Spain* and the *Emperor*. By the Time he had effected these wise Purposes, the Insolence of *Spain* towards us grew insufferable: The People of this Nation could bear it no longer; they would not allow him to bear it. Thus he found himself obliged to begin, or at least not to oppose our beginning Hostilities against *Spain*, at the most unseasonable Time he could have chosen during the whole Course of his Administration; for that the Time was unseasonable, I shall readily admit; but we were under an absolute and dire Necessity, and the Necessity we were under, as well as the Unseasonableness of the Time, were both owing to our Mi-

nister's Misconduct. These Measures he was, or pretended to be led into by the ridiculous Conceit of preserving the Tranquillity of *Europe*, and the Peace of this Nation, at a Time when every Year, every Month was furnishing us with a just Cause of War against *Spain*, and consequently with a good Reason for disturbing the Tranquillity of *Europe*, if we could, in order to have an Opportunity for taking our Revenge of the *Spaniards*, without Danger of their being assisted by any other Power in *Europe*.

This, my Lords, was the Conduct of our Minister in Time of Peace; and since the War began, I am sure it has been no Way mended. After what the noble Duke, who must be allowed to be a good Judge, had said upon the Subject, I was really surprized to hear it proposed, that this House should acknowledge the Minister's great Wisdom, in resolving to carry on this just and necessary War in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner. I wish the noble Lord had told us when the Minister took this wise Resolution, or how it appears that any such Resolution has been yet taken. I am sure, it does not appear from any Thing yet done in any Part of the World. This Resolution ought certainly to have been taken, as soon as we resolved to begin Hostilities, and we ought to have begun Hostilities by carrying this Resolution into Execution: If we had done so, *Spain* would have been obliged to submit before this Time: We might have put an End to the War by the first Blow, if we had aimed it aright, and given it in the most vigorous and effectual Manner.

But instead of this, my Lords, we have done next to nothing. It is now a Year and a Half very near, since we ought to have begun Hostilities; it is fifteen Months since we

we issued Orders for Reprizals; it is thirteen Months since we declared War: The War has already cost us three or four Millions, exclusive of the Loss our Merchants have suffered from Captures; and as yet we have done nothing besides taking a few Ships, and destroying a few Castles. I am far from endeavouring to depreciate the Service done by Admiral *Vernon* at *Porto Bel* and *Chagre*; it was a most signal and surprizing Service, considering how he was provided; but it is but a Trifle, considering what we might have done, and what he would have done, had he been properly provided; and I will venture to say, it was neither intended nor expected by our Minister. Can we then acknowledge his great Wisdom in resolving to carry on the War in the most proper Place, or in the most vigorous and effectual Manner? I say, my Lords, the Minister's great Wisdom; for this is what must be intended to be meant by every Paragraph in our Address, that relates to any past Measure. In such Cases, it is not his Majesty's but his Minister's great Wisdom we are to acknowledge; and thus his Tools without Doors will be instructed to explain it to the People.

If your Lordships mean no such Thing, I hope you will be cautious of giving them any such Handle; for instead of giving any Man a Pretence to say, upon your Authority, that the War has been pushed in the most proper Places, or in the most vigorous Manner, I think you ought, as soon as possible, to enter into an Inquiry, why it has yet been pushed in a vigorous and effectual Manner in no Place whatsoever. If we were in Danger at the Beginning of the War of having another Enemy, besides *Spain*, to engage with, it should have been a Reason for our pushing the War at

the Beginning with all imaginable Vigour, and with all possible Dispatch, in order to force the *Spaniards* to a Submission, or to reap some signal and lasting Advantages for ourselves, before that other Power could be prepared for assisting them. But why should this Power be mentioned in our Address? They have not yet declared against us, and I am not for provoking such a formidable Power by Words; for Words sometimes irritate more than Deeds. If they should declare against us, or if they should attempt to prescribe or limit the Operations of his Majesty's Arms, we must stand upon our own Legs. I hope we shall shew them, that we are able to defend ourselves, and make them repent joining with our Enemies. They labour under several Disadvantages I could name; but as I am for Deeds, when they become proper, and not for Words, which can never be proper, I shall mention none of those Disadvantages, because it might give Provocation, and can be of no Service. However, I may mention one Advantage they have over us: They have a Minister that is not only *respectable*, as they call it, but respected, both by the People and the King. This is a great Advantage, for it is of infinite Loss to a Nation to be under the Conduct of a Minister hated and despised by the People: It destroys or renders useless one Half of their Power; because their Enemies can do more with Half than they can do with double the Force. Therefore, if we should at last be involved in a War against *France* as well as *Spain*, I hope this House will use their Endeavours, to have our Affairs put under the Conduct of those that have some Credit and Esteem among the People. If this House should now begin to use Endeavours for this Purpose, it might perhaps prevent the Nation's being

being engaged in such a heavy and dangerous War; for nothing can more encourage *France* to join against us, than the little Vigour we have yet shewn in the Prosecution of the War.

I know, my Lords, it has been said, in Excuse for our not having pushed the War with more Vigour and Dispatch, that we could not spare any of the Troops we had on Foot at the Beginning of the War; and that a Body of Land Forces were sent to the *West-Indies* as soon as Troops could be raised, and a Squadron and Transport-Ships provided for convoying and transporting them thither. Suppose this were true, it is very bad Policy in the present Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*, to make use of the Argument. Does not every one know, that this Nation cannot be invaded by a great Force, as long as we have a superior Fleet at Sea; a numerous Land Army cannot therefore be necessary, unless the greatest Part of our own People be disaffected; and will any one say, that we must have at least 30,000 Men in *Britain* and *Ireland*, to support the Government against the Disaffected? Will this induce foreign States to put a Confidence in the Power of this Nation? Will this give Weight to his Majesty's Negotiations, or enable him to form a Confederacy for supporting the Balance of Power in *Europe*?

My Lords, the Revolution is a Proof, that when the People are generally disaffected, an Army is not to be depended on. If a small foreign Force should by any Means come safe ashore in favour of the Disaffected, both the People and the Army would join them, by which Means those that had entered into an Alliance with his Majesty, might meet with the same Misfortune *France* met with, by joining in an Alliance with the late King *James*: They might thereby

have the united Power of *Britain* thrown into the Scale against them. It is therefore a most unwise, a most wicked, and a most false Infinitution, to pretend, that out of 30,000 Men, the Number of regular Troops we had in *Britain* and *Ireland* when the War began, we could not spare 4 or 5000 to be sent directly to the *West-Indies*. And it is as unwise, and as false to pretend, that we could not in a few Weeks have provided a Number of Ships sufficient for transporting them, and a Squadron sufficient for convoying them. At the Time of the Revolution, the *Dutch* provided a Squadron of fifty Men of War, and Transports for 14,000 Men, of which a great Number was Cavalry, in three Months Time, for accompanying the Prince of *Orange* to *England*. I say, my Lords, in three Months Time; for it was in *July* that the first Resolution to assist the Prince of *Orange* was taken by the States General, and they prepared with such Expedition, that soon after the Beginning of *October* a Fleet of 50 Men of War, 25 Frigates, 25 Fire-ships, and near 400 Transports, with an Army of 10,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, were ready to sail, and actually did sail upon the 19th of that Month. If the *Dutch* were able to fit out such a Fleet in three Months, shall it be pretended, will any one dare to insinuate, that the *British* Nation was not able to fit out a Squadron of 20 or 30 Men of War, and Transports for 6 or 7000 Men, all Infantry, in less than eighteen Months? Those that make such Insinuations are, I am sure, more solicitous about making an Excuse for the Minister, than they are about the Character of their Country, or the Credit of their Sovereign.

Thus it appears, my Lords, that our present Situation, dangerous as it must be confessed to be, is intirely owing to the Misconduct of our Minister;

Minister; and I shall immediately shew, that the present unlucky Situation of the Affairs of *Europe* is chiefly owing to the same Cause. That the Affairs of *Europe* are at present in a most unsettled State, that the Balance of Power is in the most imminent Danger, is confessed by the Friends of our Minister, and is by them made an Argument for our approving of his Conduct. How just this Argument is, I shall leave to your Lordships to consider. The Affairs of *Europe* must be re-settled, the Balance of Power must be re-established, either by a most difficult Negotiation, or by a most dangerous War; and this Nation must, in either of these Methods, have a principal Share. If by Negotiation, shall we trust the Management of that Negotiation to those, who have been for 20 Years negotiating with *Spain*, and instead of adjusting any one Difference between the two Nations, have rendered every one of them more perplexed, and have at last negotiated us into a War? If by War the Affairs of *Europe* are to be re-settled, shall we trust the Management of such a dangerous War to those, who have for near 18 Months been carrying on a War against the languid and defenceless Kingdom of *Spain*, without reaping any one Advantage to their native Country, or doing any notable Mischief to the Enemy? The present unlucky Situation of the Affairs of *Europe* is, therefore, as strong an Argument as can be urged, for our inquiring into, instead of approving the Conduct of our Minister, and for our declaring in our Address upon this Occasion, as the noble Duke has desired, that we will exert ourselves in our high Capacity of hereditary great Council of the Crown.

If it could be said, that our Minister has had no Hand in bringing the Affairs of *Europe* into their pre-

sent dangerous, I may say dreadful Situation: If it could be said, that their present Situation is intirely owing to unforeseen Accidents, and not to any Error in his Conduct; yet his Conduct with regard to *Spain* must convince every impartial Man, that he neither knows how to conduct a Negotiation, nor how to carry on a War. But can it be said, that he has had no Share in bringing the Affairs of *Europe* into their present distressed Condition, or that this distressed Condition is owing to any Accident? Can the Emperor's Death be called an Accident? Can the Death of any Man be called an Accident? My Lords, it is a true and a common Proverb, Nothing is more certain than Death: The Time is uncertain, but the Event is infallible; and therefore common Prudence directs us to provide as soon as possible against every Misfortune that may insue from a Person's Death. The House of *Austria* began early to provide against the Death of the late Emperor by the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and if we had early enough taken proper Measures for guarantying that Settlement, the present unfortunate State of *Europe* might have been prevented. The *Pragmatick Sanction* is far from being a late or a novel Invention; it is founded upon the *Pacta Conventa* in 1703, between *Leopold*, and his two Sons, *Joseph* and *Charles*: They were sensible of the Prejudice their Family would suffer by a Division of its Dominions, they foresaw the Danger that would insue from a disputed Succession, and therefore they agreed, that the Females as well as the Males of their House should be established in the Right of Primogeniture. In 1713, this Agreement was drawn into the Form of a Settlement or Entail, and laid before the Emperor's Council, where it was confirmed, and the *Pragmatick Sanction*, the Name then given to it, established.

established. In 1720, this *Pragmatic Sanction* was received and confirmed by the States of *Austria*, and soon after, an Application was made to us for our Guarantee. We had then an Opportunity of getting the Affairs of *Germany* so settled, as would have prevented any Disputes; but our present Minister, who then began to have a great Influence upon all our Measures, had, it seems, laid it down as a Maxim, To preserve a close Correspondence with the Court of *France*, and therefore, lest we should disoblige that Court, we absolutely refused the Suit made to us by the Court of *Vienna*, or to give ourselves any Trouble about the Misfortunes that might be occasioned by the *Emperor's* Death.

This, my Lords, threw the *Emperor* into the Arms of *Spain*, and the Affront soon after put by the Court of *France* upon that of *Spain*, together with our Minister's refusing the sole Mediation offered, for adjusting all the Differences subsisting between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, which he refused likewise for fear of disobligeing *France*, made *Spain* as ready to fly into the Arms of the *Emperor*, which produced the Treaty of *Vienna* between these two Powers in 1725. I shall say nothing, my Lords, of the terrible Phantoms our Minister took Occasion from this Treaty to frighten us with. The over-grown Power of the House of *Austria*, and that voracious Creature *Don Carlos*, that was to swallow us all up, must be remembered by every Man that has read or heard of the Transactions of those Times. Nor shall I trouble your Lordships with Remarks upon our Counter-Treaty of *Hanover*, which led us into such a Train of Blunders, Misfortunes, and Expence; because it has been often and sufficiently exposed. I shall only observe, that our Conduct after that, for some Years, made it impossible

for the Court of *Vienna* to make any farther Progress in the *Pragmatic Sanction*, or in guarding against the Misfortunes that were like to insue upon the *Emperor's* Death. At last, in 1731, our Minister, in order to get out of a Snare he had led himself into, agreed at once to an absolute Guarantee of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, without taking the least Care to adjust the Differences that subsisted between the House of *Austria* and the other Princes of *Germany*, and, I believe, without the least Thought how he was to make good that Guarantee; for even the *Dutch* were at first no Parties to that Treaty; tho' they were afterwards prevailed on to accede to it upon certain Conditions, by the good Conduct of a noble Lord I have in my Eye.

But the Difference between the *Dutch* Conduct and ours is, in this Respect, very remarkable: We jump'd into this Guarantee without obtaining, without, I believe, asking any one Advantage for ourselves, for the Reason I have already assigned. The *Dutch* stood aloof for very near a Twelvemonth, and made use of this Handle to obtain, both from the *Emperor* and us, almost every Favour they could ask. They got us to interpose, and to procure a Peace for them with the *Algerines*, tho' it was very much our Interest to have prevented it; and they got us to interpose, and get a Difference then subsisting between them and *Denmark*, accommodated to their own Satisfaction, tho' it was our Interest to have protracted that Dispute. They got the *Emperor* to settle the Affair of *East Friseland*, so far as he could, to their Liking; and to give them a Security for the Payment of a Sum of Money due to them on Account of the Barrier in *Flanders*, besides several other Advantages: And at last they did not accede but upon Conditions,

ditions, and not till after the *Pragmatick Sanction* had been guarantied by the Diet of the Empire. Will any one say, that the *Dutch* are not as much concerned about preserving intire the Possessions of the House of *Austria* as we are? Will any one say, we are not as able to stand upon our own Legs as the *Dutch* are? We had, it is true, very little to ask from the House of *Austria* in favour of ourselves; but we might have obtained some Concessions in favour of some Princes, that would have made the Guarantee of the *Pragmatick Sanction* a less knotty Point than it is like to prove.

The Imperial Court having thus, as I have said, my Lords, obtained the Guarantee of this Nation, they immediately applied themselves to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, and got the *Pragmatick Sanction* established, and guarantied by almost the unanimous Consent of the Princes and States of the Empire, even before the *Dutch* had acceded to that Guarantee. The Electors *Palatine*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and the little Bishop of *Pfessingen*, whom the Duke of *Bavaria* got to join with them, were the only Princes that protested against it: Of these the Elector of *Saxony* has since joined in the Guarantee; and the others did not protest against it on Account of any Claim that either of them pretended to the Whole or any Part of the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, but on Account of *Hungary* and those other *Austrian* Dominions being included in the Guarantee, which were properly no Part of the Empire.

From this Account your Lordships will see, that the Establishment of the *Pragmatick Sanction* was long delayed, even in the Empire itself, by the Blunders of our Minister, and by his most unaccountable Attachment to the Court of *France*; but this was not the sole

bad Consequence of his Misconduct. The *Pragmatick Sanction* was guarantied, but the Differences among the Princes of the Empire remained unadjusted, and no Care was taken for preventing Disputes about the Election of an Emperor, in Case of the Death of the then Emperor, before the Empire's having chosen a King of the *Romans*, both which Points might have been settled, if we had taken right Measures for that Purpose before guarantying the *Pragmatick Sanction*; but as one Blunder generally leads a Man into a second, and from that to a third, our Minister was drove headlong into this Guarantee, by a Blunder he had committed in the Treaty of *Seville*.

This, my Lords, is one of the chief Causes of the present dangerous State of Affairs in *Europe*, and the other Cause is still more manifestly owing to his Misconduct. By his causelessly picking a Quarrel with the Emperor, on Account of the Treaty at *Vienna* in 1725, and by the Measures he took after the Treaty of *Hanover*, he restored and cemented an Union between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and threw a Bone of Contention between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, which produced the War in 1733 against the Emperor; and by our Inactivity in that War, the Emperor was divested of the two *Sicilies*, and the whole Dukedom of *Lorain* annexed to the Crown of *France*; and, which was worse than either, not only a Distrust but a Sort of Resentment created in the Court of *Vienna* against this Nation, which makes me doubtful, whether the Death of the late Emperor was a Loss or an Advantage to us. But whatever it was to the Nation, I am convinced, it was an Advantage, at least a temporary Advantage, to our Minister; for while he continued in the Administration of our

our Affairs, and the *Emperor* lived, *France* knew we could expect no Assistance from the Court of *Vienna*. This left them at full Liberty to join with *Spain* against us; and they would probably have done so before this Time; but by the *Emperor's* Death their Attention was drawn another Way, which made them suspend declaring against us. The *Emperor's* Death was, therefore, a temporary Advantage to our Minister; but if we do not now play our Cards very dextrously, which, I am persuaded, it is not in his Power to do, this temporary Advantage may end in the Thralldom of *Europe*, and the Ruin of this Nation.

I hope, my Lords, I have now shewn, that whatever Danger there may be in the present Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*, it is intirely owing to the Misconduct of the Minister, whose Measures we are now desired implicitly to approve of; but tho' I must allow the Danger to be great, yet if this Nation acts with tolerable Prudence and Vigour, I do not think it near so great as it has been represented; and therefore I cannot think it was right to mention the *Emperor's* Death in the Manner in which it is mentioned in his Majesty's Speech. We ought not, in such an anticipated Manner, to suggest Jealousies and Fears about the Balance of Power and the Liberties of *Europe*. The *Pragmatick Sanction* is a Security against all Attempts upon either. Let us consider, my Lords, that the *Pragmatick Sanction* was but lately guarantied by *France* for a very valuable Consideration; and that no Power in *Europe* will attempt any Thing against that Settlement without the Assistance of *France*. If the present *French* Ministers should begin to act against what they guarantied so lately as in the Year 1738, it would render them as odious as the *French* Ministry was in *Louis* the XIVth's

Time, which at last raised such a Confederacy against that Nation, as made their *Grand Monarch* tremble upon his Throne. Such a bare-faced Breach of Faith would hang like a Load of Iron about their A Necks: It would draw the Iron of all the Powers of *Europe* upon them; and therefore I cannot believe they will attempt any such Thing, unless they are prompted to it by a supposed Timidity or Perplexity in the Counsels of this Nation. This B they may perhaps, from our late Conduct, have some Ground to suppose; and for this very Reason, we ought to agree to the noble Duke's Motion, in order to shew them that our future Counsels are to flow from a very different Fountain.

C The next that stood up was Cn. Dominicus Calvinus, who spoke in Substance thus:

My Lords,

I F the present Crisis of Affairs did not, in my Opinion, require from us something extraordinary upon this Occasion, I should most readily agree to the noble Duke's Motion, because I think our Duty and Affection to his Majesty cannot be more strongly or more emphatically expressed, than they are in his Motion; but as several Circumstances of Affairs abroad require from us some particular Expressions of Duty and Affection adapted to those Circumstances, and as the noble Lord near me has taken Care to make use of Expressions in his Motion extremely proper for this Purpose, I must be for our agreeing to the second Motion, tho' I have all imaginable Regard for the first, as well as I have for the noble Duke that made it.

G The Objections I have hitherto heard against the second Motion are all founded upon a Supposition, which, I think, cannot be drawn from

from any Thing expressed in the Motion. It is supposed, my Lords, that the second Motion contains an implied Approbation of all our past Measures. I heard the noble Lord make it; I afterwards heard it read over at your Table; I have since read it over by myself with the utmost Attention, and I protest I cannot find so much as an implied Approbation of any one Measure lately transacted. It contains indeed an express Approbation of some of his Majesty's Resolutions, which he has been pleased to mention to us in his Speech from the Throne; but those Resolutions, call them his Majesty's or call them the Minister's, which your Lordships will, are such as, I am certain, no Lord in this House, nor any Man in the Nation, that wishes well to his Country, will disapprove of. His Majesty has told us, that he is resolved to carry on the War in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner; in Answer to which the noble Lord proposes, that we should acknowledge his Majesty's great Wisdom, and his Adherence to the true Interest of his Kingdoms, in *resolving* to carry on the War in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner. We are not to thank his Majesty for *having carried on* the War in the most proper Places, or in the most vigorous and effectual Manner; we are only to acknowledge his Wisdom in having *resolved* to do so: And is not this a right Resolution? Is there any Man in the Kingdom will say it is wrong?

By this therefore we do not approve of any past Measure; we do not approve of any Thing that has been done; we only approve of what his Majesty resolves to do, and this every one of your Lordships must approve of, whether you express it in your Address or no. It is the same with regard to the other

Resolution, and the only other Resolution referred to by any Thing proposed in the second Motion. His Majesty in his Speech has told us, that if any other Power should interpose, and attempt to prescribe or limit the Operations of his Arms, he is resolved not to be diverted or deterred by that or any other Incident, from those just or vigorous Measures which he is pursuing, for maintaining the Honour of his Crown, and the undoubted Rights of his People; and in Answer to this, it is proposed by the second Motion, that we should acknowledge his Majesty's Wisdom, and his Adherence to the true Interest of his Kingdoms, in not *suffering* himself to be diverted or deterred from carrying on the War in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner. Is this so much as an implied Approbation of any late Measure, or of any Thing that has been done? Is it any more than an Approbation of his Majesty's Resolution not to suffer himself to be diverted or deterred? And is not this a Resolution that every Well-wisher to this Kingdom must approve of?

The other Parts of his Lordship's Motion contain nothing but Assurances, and, I think, very proper and very necessary Assurances, of our concurring with and supporting his Majesty in all proper Measures, for vindicating and defending his Majesty's Dignity and Honour against any Insults, for frustrating any Designs formed against us, and for maintaining the Balance and the Liberties of Europe. Therefore, my Lords, the late Conduct of our Ministers, or if your Lordships please, the Minister, has nothing to do in this Debate, nor is it absolutely necessary to answer any of the Objections that have been made to it; but as I think myself personally concerned, I hope your Lordships will forgive me, if I endeavour to vindicate

vindicate some of those Measures that have been found fault with, especially as I am resolved, in doing so, to take up as little of your Lordships Time as possible. The noble Lord that spoke last, whose Knowledge in political Affairs is very extensive, and whose Judgment I shall always have a great Regard for, has been pleased to inform us of a Fact which, I confess, I was before an utter Stranger to. As I do not pretend to any great Knowledge of those Affairs in which I have had no Concern, I shall readily own, that I knew nothing of any Application's having been made to us by the Court of *Vienna*, for our Guarantee of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, so early as soon after the Year 1720. But if such an Application was made, and we at that Time refused the Request, I cannot think it was for the Reason the noble Lord has been pleased to assign: There might be several other Reasons, and even the noble Lord himself has been pleased to hint something of what was, I believe, the true Reason. At that Time there were several Differences subsisting between the Court of *Vienna* and some of the other Powers of *Europe*, particularly *Spain*. We perhaps thought the Court of *Vienna* a little intractable, as has often been the Case, and that therefore it was proper for us to delay yielding to their Request, till we should get them to make such Concessions as might engage other Powers, particularly *Spain*, to join with us in that Guarantee. If this was the Reason for our refusing our Guarantee at that Time, it was a very prudent Reason, even according to the noble Lord's Method of arguing; and it is more propable, that this was our Reason, than that any unaccountable Attachment to the Court of *France* could be the Cause of our delaying at that Time to guaranty the *Pragmatick Sanction*.

However, my Lords, it is very probable the Court of *Vienna* conceived a Resentment against us upon that Account, which Resentment was soon after very much heightened by the Dispute about the *Ostend* Company; and as *Spain* had likewise a Resentment against us, on Account of our refusing to deliver up *Gibraltar*, which, they said, the late King had promised, this joint Resentment threw these two Courts into the Arms of one another, and made them join in those unjust and dangerous Engagements, which they entered into by the secret Articles of the Treaty concluded at *Vienna* in 1725. These Engagements, my Lords, made it necessary for us to concert and conclude the Treaty of *Hanover*; and when by that Treaty, and the wise and vigorous Measures we took in Pursuance of it, both the *Emperor* and *Spain* saw it was not in their Power to hurt us, or to support the *Ostend* Trade in Defiance of us, or, in short, to carry any of their Projects against us into Execution, the Court of *Vienna* found it necessary to reconcile themselves to us by sacrificing their *Ostend* Company, and the Court of *Spain* by giving up the Pretensions they made to *Gibraltar*. We had then an Opportunity to reconcile ourselves with both these Courts, which it is always our Interest to do as soon as we can upon reasonable and honourable Terms; and to reconcile them with one another, which it is the Interest of *Europe* as well as ours to have done, provided that Reconciliation be founded upon a Design to preserve and not to disturb the Tranquillity of *Europe*. This we did by getting the *Emperor* to consent to the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, and by getting *Spain* to join with us in the Guarantee of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, both which we accomplished in the Year 1731.

Thus,

Thus, my Lords, it appears, that our Delay in guarantying the *Pragmatick Sanction*, was not owing to any Misconduct in our Ministers, but to the Misconduct of the Court of *Vienna*, in setting up an *East-India* Company at *Ostend*, contrary to the Title by which they held the *Netherlands*, and in entering into such Engagements with *Spain*, as could not but raise the Indignation, as well as Resentment of this Nation. The Haughtiness and Obstinacy of that Court are well known: It required a long Time as well as vigorous Measures to prevail with them to make proper and just Concessions to us, to the *Dutch*, and to the *Spaniards*. As soon as we found them willing to do this, we guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction*: The Court of *Spain* very soon after did the same; and if the *Dutch* did not immediately come into that Guarantee, it was owing to their Form of Government, which made it necessary for us to lead the Way, in order to furnish an Argument to that Party amongst them that were for the Guarantee, for prevailing with those that were against it.

But suppose, my Lords, the *Dutch* had absolutely refused to guaranty the *Pragmatick Sanction*; suppose they did not or would not see their real Interest, was that a Reason for us to neglect ours? Suppose they lie by, or perhaps assist in overturning the Liberties of *Europe*, would that be a Reason for us to do the same? We were therefore in the Right to agree to that Guarantee, as soon as we found the Court of *Vienna* ready to do what was proper for that Purpose; and if any Disputes remained among the Princes of the Empire, if no Method was settled for preventing Disputes about the Election of an *Emperor*, it was owing to the Nature of Things, and not to any Misconduct in us; for if the Guarantee had been delayed, till all

these Matters should be settled, I am convinced, it would never have been agreed to. These Disputes might have remain'd, but the *Pragmatick Sanction's* being guarantied by the *Empire*, by *Muscovy*, by *Spain*, and by *Great Britain*, if all the Parties had been sincere, and the Court of *Vienna* satisfied with the Security they had obtained, would have prevented any Power in *Europe* from daring to disturb the Tranquillity thereof, on Account of any of those Disputes. But the Insincerity of *Spain*, which soon afterwards appeared, could neither be foreseen nor provided against; nor could it be imagined, that the Court of *Vienna* would enter into a Concert with *Muscovy* for over-awing the Election, and forcing a King upon the Republick of *Poland*.

This, my Lords, leads me of course to consider our Conduct when the War broke out between *France* and the *Emperor*. It is very certain, that War was occasioned by the Conduct of the Court of *Vienna* with regard to the Affair of *Poland*; and we are here to consider, that the only Attachment we have to the Court of *Vienna* is on account of preserving the Balance of Power in *Europe*. We are on this Account to shew ourselves Friends to the House of *Austria*, as long as they do not attempt to overturn that Balance; but we are not to be the Slaves of that House, and to fight their Battles whenever they have a Mind, or engage in every Quarrel they may draw upon themselves. The Preservation of the Balance of Power and Liberties of *Europe*, does not so much depend upon preserving entire the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, as in taking Care that none of those Dominions shall devolve to any Potentate in *Europe*, whose Power by that Accession may become dangerous to the publick Liberty. The *Emperor* had drawn that

that War upon himself, and therefore we were not obliged by any Treaty or Alliance to assist him. We were only to take Care that neither *France* nor *Spain* should, by the Event of that War, get such an Accession of Power as might endanger the Balance of Power in *Europe*. This was the Maxim the *Dutch* went upon as well as we; and it was a right Maxim. But suppose it had been otherwise, it would have been very dangerous for us, and of the most pernicious Consequence to our Trade; to have engaged in that War, whilst the *Dutch* remained at Peace, and consequently in an uninterrupted Enjoyment of Trade and Commerce. It was therefore our Business to delay engaging till the *Dutch* found it necessary to engage as well as we: This they would have done, if *France* and her Allies had pushed their Success too far: For preventing this, it was necessary for us to make Preparations; and in this the *Dutch* kept equal Pace with us, so far as the Forms of their Republick would admit.

I hope, my Lords, I have now made it appear, that the present State of Affairs in *Europe*, however dangerous it may be, is not owing to any Misconduct in our Ministers. It is entirely owing to the late *Emperor's* not having had a Son, to the Disunion among the *Electors* about choosing a Successor to the *Imperial* Dignity, and to the *Emperor's* dying before this Disunion could be removed: These must all be allowed to be Accidents, because every one of them might have happened otherwise; and to these Accidents the present unsettled State of Affairs in *Europe* is solely to be attributed. Then as to our Conduct in our late Negotiations with *Spain*, every one knows it was such as was recommended by the Parliament itself; for the Parliament always advised his Majesty to try what could

be done by peaceable Means, before having recourse to warlike; and if the Negotiations were drawn out to a great Length, it was owing to the tender Regard his Majesty had for the Trade of his Subjects, and the Advice of his Parliament, which made him resolve not to have recourse to Arms, till he was absolutely certain that no other Method would prevail. Not only the Method of Negotiation was recommended by Parliament, but every material Step of that Negotiation has been approved by Parliament, therefore I am surprized to hear it now found fault with; and as to our Conduct since the War began, I am convinced no Fault will be found with it by those who consider the Circumstances we were in when the War broke out. Our not sending a Land-Force to the *West-Indies* sooner than we have done, was entirely owing to the few Troops and the few Seamen we had in the Nation, when it became necessary for us to begin Hostilities; and to our being obliged to provide for our Defence at home, and for the Security of our valuable Possessions in the *Mediterranean*.

I am far from saying, my Lords, that 30,000 regular Troops in *Britain* and *Ireland* are necessary for supporting the Government against the Disaffected, or for preventing our present happy Establishment's being overturned by a sudden Invasion with a small Number of Troops. The People are so generally well affected to his Majesty, and to our present happy Establishment, that, in all human Probability, we should at the long run be able to defeat any Insurrection that could be made by the Disaffected, or any Invasion that could be suddenly made for assisting them, even tho' we had not one regular Regiment in the Kingdom. But, my Lords, we are to think of and provide

vide for the Quiet of the People, as well as for the Support of the Government; and therefore we are to consider how to prevent, as well as how to defeat any Insurrection or Invasion. For defeating an Insurrection or Invasion, after a long Struggle and a great deal of Mischief done to the Country, it may not perhaps be necessary to keep near the Number of 30,000 regular Troops in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; but for taking away from our Enemies at home all Hopes of Success, and thereby preventing an Insurrection; and for taking away from our Enemies abroad all Hopes of being able to do us any notable Mischief, and thereby preventing an Invasion, I will say, that 30,000 regular Troops is the least Number we ought to keep up in *Britain* and *Ireland*, even in Time of Peace, and by much too small a Number in Time of War; and therefore I will say, that we could not in Prudence spare to send any Land Forces to the *West-Indies*, till after we had considerably augmented our Army at home, because, tho' it would not have exposed our Government to the Danger of being overturned, it would have exposed us to the Danger of having our domestick Tranquillity interrupted by an Insurrection or Invasion; and I am sure, the best Way for enabling ourselves to prosecute the War abroad with Vigour, is to preserve the Tranquillity at home with Care.

But suppose, my Lords, we could have spared some of our Land Forces, we could not get Seamen enough at first for fitting out all the Squadrons we had occasion for, and for providing a sufficient Number of Transport-Ships. We had been for a long Time in profound Peace, for which, I think, we ought to thank our Ministers, though several Lords seem now to be of a contrary Opinion. We had seldom, for many

Years, had occasion to fit out any great Number of Men of War; by which our national Stock of Seamen came by Degrees to be reduced to a Number scarcely sufficient for carrying on our Trade, and for manning the Number of Ships of War we usually keep in Commission in Time of Peace. At the Beginning of this War we were obliged to keep one very strong Squadron upon our own Coasts, especially as *Spain* was actually preparing to invade us, and as we were not very sure what another Power might do, if we had laid ourselves open to an Invasion: We were obliged to employ a great many Ships of War for convoying and protecting our Trade; and we were obliged to keep a strong Squadron in the *Mediterranean* for protecting *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, especially the latter, which was actually threatened with an Attack. These Preparations, which were indispensable for our own Defence, made it impossible for us to provide, at the very Beginning of the War, such a powerful Squadron, and such a Number of Transports, as were necessary for making a vigorous Attack upon the Enemy in the *West-Indies*. This was at the very Beginning of the War resolv'd on; Preparations were made for it with the utmost Expedition; and if the Fleet had met with a fair Wind as soon as it was ready, we might perhaps, before now, have heard some joyful Accounts of its Success.

I have now, I think, my Lords, answered all the Objections that have been made to our Conduct, or to the Motion which the noble Lord was pleased to propose; and shall conclude with giving my Reasons for preferring his Motion to that made by the noble Duke.

My Lords, I am far from finding fault with any of the Expressions contained in the noble Duke's Motion;

tion; and I believe, if they are understood in the Sense he meant them, no Objection can be made to any one of them. However, I must observe, that there are some Words in what he has proposed, which, I think, in Prudence ought to be left out, because they may be misunderstood; and if they should, it would of course occasion a Breach between the two Houses, which, in the present Conjuncture, would be of the most fatal Consequence. When I say this, I am persuaded every one of your Lordships supposes, that I mean the Words, *To which all other Councils are subordinate and accountable*. This Expression is so general, that I am afraid it may be misunderstood by the other House. I am convinced the noble Duke does not mean any such Thing, but I am afraid, should we make use of such an Expression in our Address, the other House would suppose we thereby meant to assert some Sort of Jurisdiction over them, which would of course make them insist upon an Explanation; and the two Houses might very probably disagree about the Terms of this Explanation.

Therefore, my Lords, if we were to agree to this Motion, I think an Amendment ought to be made, by leaving out these Words, before we agree to it; but I think the Whole, as well as this particular Expression, is too general. I shall admit that the noble Duke, so far as he goes, has expressed himself, as he always does, in the strongest and clearest Terms; and for this Reason, I hope your Lordships will avoid putting a Negative upon the Motion: But the present Conjuncture of Affairs, both foreign and domestick, is so critical, that we ought not to content ourselves with general Expressions of Duty and Affection to our Sovereign, however strong, however clear those Expressions may be. His Majesty has in his Speech repeated

to us his Resolution to prosecute the War in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner: This is a right Resolution, and our approving of it in a particular Manner, will have great Weight with our declared Enemies, in making them resolve to submit betimes to reasonable Terms. His Majesty has in his Speech insinuated some Danger of another Power's attempting to limit the Operations of War against our declared Enemies, but that he is resolved not to be diverted or deterred from those just and vigorous Measures he is pursuing: This is a right Resolution, and our approving of it in a particular Manner will certainly be of great Advantage to the Nation; it may alter the Resolutions of our secret Enemies; when they see that both the King and Parliament of Great Britain are resolved not to be diverted or deterred from prosecuting the War in the most proper Manner for bringing it to a speedy and happy Issue, it may prevent their daring to attempt what they are at present perhaps resolved to attempt; and our declared Enemies being thus rendered destitute of all Hopes of Succour from our secret Enemies, they will immediately think of avoiding the Storm which, they will then see, can be avoided no other Way, but by a speedy Submission to what they themselves must confess to be reasonable.

Thus, my Lords, with regard to our own Affairs, it will be of great Advantage to the Nation, and therefore I think it absolutely necessary for us to give his Majesty upon this Occasion, in a particular Manner, our Thanks for the vigorous Resolutions he has taken, and the strongest and most particular Assurances, that we will stand by and support him in those Resolutions. And with regard to the Affairs of Europe, can we at such a critical Conjuncture

omit to assure his Majesty, that we will stand by and support him, in adhering to the Engagements he is under, for maintaining the Balance and Liberties of *Europe*, on the Event of the late *Emperor's* Death? We know, my Lords, what a brittle Thing a Treaty is, let it be never so solemn. The *Pragmatick Sanction* is, it is true, guarantied, but to those that are willing, the Election of an *Emperor* may probably furnish a Loop-hole for getting out of that Guarantee; and our neglecting upon this Occasion to return a proper Answer upon this Subject, would shew such a Lukewarmness in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, with regard to the Balance and Liberties of *Europe*, as might very much encourage those who are already too willing to inroach upon both.

For these Reasons, my Lords, I think we ought to take care, in our Address upon this Occasion, to return a proper and a particular Answer upon each of these Heads; and as the noble Lord, in the Motion he has been pleased to make, has expressed himself in the handsomest Manner upon each of these Heads, I must give it the Preference to that made by the noble Duke; but as the latter, so far as it goes, is so genteely, and at the same Time so warmly expressed, I would not have a Negative put upon it; and therefore, in order to come at the second Motion, I shall take the Liberty to move your Lordships for the previous Question with regard to the first.

The next that spoke was L. Pifo, the Purport of whose Speech was thus:

My Lords,

AS I never did, as I hope I never shall desire to screen myself or any of my Friends behind the Throne, I shall always be cautious of bringing his Majesty's Name

into any Debate in this House; but upon this Occasion I must be more cautious than usual, because in this Debate it is impossible to argue with that Freedom which becomes a Member of this House, without taking such Liberties with our past Measures, and what are said to be our present Resolutions, as would ill suit with the Name of Majesty; Therefore, when I talk of Measures or Resolutions, I shall do what every Lord in this House ought; I shall substitute the Name Minister instead of Majesty, and I hope your Lordships will do me the Justice to suppose, that whatever I may say, however I may express myself, it is far from my Heart to intend the least Reflection upon my Sovereign.

I shall likewise, my Lords, be at all Times extremely cautious of giving Praise, either to the Measures or the Resolutions of Ministers; because their Measures are often wrapt up in such Clouds, that I cannot clearly discern them, and their secret Resolutions are too often contrary to their open Professions. But when I see Ministers begging hard for a little Incense, and endeavouring to have a Motion rejected, with which even they themselves can find no Fault, in order to make Room for Encomiums which they themselves have prepared; I shall always then be for denying their Request, till I have examined into their Merit. *Latet anguis in herba*, I shall then think a most reasonable and necessary Suspicion, and therefore I shall be for turning over, and searching narrowly into the Weeds under which the Serpent may lie concealed, before I set a Foot in any of those Steps which they desire me to tread.

As the Minister's Resolutions are chiefly the Subject of this Debate, it is proper I should begin with them; and here, my Lords, I must observe, that it is very unusual, if not

not unprecedented, for this House to thank or applaud any Minister for his Resolutions. I have heard of Ministers, Generals, Admirals, and even private Men getting the Thanks and Applauses of this House for important Services rendered to their Country; but I do not remember to have ever heard of any Man's getting the Thanks of either House of Parliament for a Resolution, he said, he had taken. Therefore, so far as I remember, what is now desired of us must be allowed to be without Precedent; but this I should have no great Concern about, if I thought it would likewise be without Consequence. The necessary Consequence of our acknowledging the Wisdom of any Resolution will be this: The World will from thence suppose, that we were fully convinced of the Minister's having taken such a Resolution; and if it should afterwards appear from his Conduct, that he had never taken any such Resolution, what will the World think of our Penetration and Integrity? They must condemn either one or t'other; they will, probably, condemn both; and of what fatal Consequence this may be to that Character which we ought to preserve both at home and abroad, I shall leave your Lordships to judge.

After what is premised, I shall beg Leave, my Lords, to examine the Resolutions which the Minister tells us he has taken. He says, he has resolved to prosecute the War in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner. My Lords, he told us the same Thing at the Close of last Session: Can any one say, that it has since been prosecuted in any Place, or in any Manner? We must therefore conclude, either that the Resolution was not then taken, or that it has since been altered; and is this a Reason for our believing that

it is now taken, and that it will be pursued, only because he says so? A formidable Squadron with a Fleet of Transports has now sailed, very lately, my Lords; but it is not the first Time he has sent out formidable Squadrons to do nothing. As the same Minister formerly sent out a Squadron to persuade the *Spaniards* to give up their Ships, this Squadron may perhaps be sent out to persuade the *Spaniards* to give up their Settlements, and their Persuasions will, I am convinced, have as little Effect. I therefore with your Lordships would suspend your Acknowledgments, till you are convinced of the Resolution's being taken, by its Effects. I am sure, from the Minister's past Conduct, your Lordships have no Reason to believe, that he will ever prosecute any War, or any foreign Measure in which there is the least Difficulty, with Vigour and Effect. After the Treaty of *Hanover*, he prosecuted a War against the *Spaniards*, or at least he allowed them to prosecute a War against this Nation, for above two Years: Did he on his Part prosecute it with Vigour or Effect? He has been negotiating with the *Spaniards* ever since the Treaty of *Seville*, about obtaining Satisfaction for past Injuries, and Security against future: They indeed, during most of that Time, prosecuted their Depredations with Vigour and Effect; but can it now be said, that he negotiated with Vigour or Effect? He has now been prosecuting open Hostilities against *Spain* for near seventeen Months: Has he yet done any Thing? Has he attempted any Thing that, had it proved successful, would have compelled that haughty and obstinate Nation to submit to equitable Terms? Does not the World know? Does not the World stand amazed, that we have not as yet done any Thing? Does it not seem as if some malign Plan

net hung over our Counsels, and retarded or disappointed every vigorous Resolution? And shall we upon an *Ipsé Dixit* acknowledge the Wisdom of such a Minister, in resolving to prosecute the War in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner?

Another Resolution, my Lords, which we are to acknowledge the Wisdom, and thereby confess the Truth of is, that our Minister has resolved not to be diverted or deterred from the just and vigorous Measures he has resolved to pursue, by the Attempts of any Power whatsoever to limit, or prescribe Bounds to our warlike Operations. Here, my Lords, are two Facts which we are to affirm the Truth of, without the least Ground but the Minister's *Ipsé Dixit*. We are to affirm, that some foreign Power threatens, or seems inclined to attempt to limit the Operations of the War on our Side; and we are to affirm, that our Minister has resolved not to be diverted or deterred by those Threats or Appearances. These are two Facts which we are to affirm the Truth of, at least the whole World will conclude, that we believe them to be true, if we should agree to what the noble Lord has proposed; and I wish the noble Lord that made the Motion, or any other Lord, would shew me, what parliamentary Authority we have for believing either.

Our *Gazettes*, I know, my Lords, have told us, that the *French* have sent two Squadrons to the *West-Indies*; and from the Nature of Things we may suppose, that they will endeavour to limit our warlike Operations against *Spain*, because it is their Interest to do so, if they find they can do it without exposing themselves to great Danger. But is a common News-Paper an Authority upon which we can found any Resolution? My Lords, as Members of

this House, we do not know that they have sent a Ship to the *West-Indies*, nor do we know that they have ever made the least Intimation of their being resolved to interpose in the War between us and *Spain*; and, I am sure, it is no Compliment to our Minister to imagine that they will dare to interpose, because we must grant that he has negotiated to very little Purpose, if the *French* have any Ground to think that they may support *Spain* in such an unjust War against this Nation, without exposing themselves to any great Danger. We have therefore no parliamentary Authority for believing that the *French* will attempt to limit our Operations of War against *Spain*, nor have we any Authority from the Nature of Things, without supposing that the Minister deserves to be censured, instead of having his Wisdom acknowledged.

But suppose, my Lords, we had a parliamentary Authority for believing, that the *French* have sent their Squadrons to the *West-Indies*, and that they have sent them thither with a Design to limit our Operations against *Spain*, as they have not yet openly and publicly declared their Design, I think, it would be wrong in us to take Notice of it in our Address: I think it was wrong to put any Words relating to it into his Majesty's Speech. It is a Sort of Boasting, which is never right either in publick or private Life. Let us do, my Lords, and not boast of what we shall do. Let us shew, by our Actions and not by our Words, that we are not to be diverted or deterred from doing whatever we think proper for maintaining the Honour of the Crown, and the undoubted Rights of the People. In all Cases of Danger, it is a Rule not to believe a Fellow that boasts of what he will do; and if we apply this Rule to the present

sent Case, we ought from thence to conclude, that our Minister is not resolved not to be diverted or deterred by the Court of *France* from pushing the War against *Spain* in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner.

This, I say, my Lords, we ought to conclude, if we had no other Reason besides his boasting Manner of declaring his Resolution; but if we consider his past Conduct, especially his Conduct since the Beginning of the present War, we have many additional Reasons for concluding, that he neither has taken, nor is capable of taking any such Resolution. When we consider his past Conduct we must, I think, conclude not only that he has been diverted and deterred by the Court of *France* from doing what he ought to have done, but also that he has been influenced and led by that Court, to do many Things which he ought not to have done; and therefore, before we believe, or give Cause to others to think we believe, that he is now resolved not to be diverted or deterred by the Menaces or Attempts of *France*, we ought to stay till we are convinced of it by what he does, and not by what he says. In all his past Measures he has never said that he was, he has often affirmed that he was not diverted or influenced by the Court of *France*, tho' from his Actions it has plainly appeared; and that it may still more evidently appear, I hope, your Lordships will give me Leave to make a few Observations upon what the noble Duke has been pleased to say in Excuse for our Minister's Conduct, in which the noble Duke may, perhaps, think himself personally concerned, but if he does, I believe I may assure him, that he thinks worse of himself than any Man in the Kingdom does.

The noble Duke was pleased to say, that if we refused to guaranty

the *Pragmatick Sanction* when it was desired of us soon after the Year 1720, the Reason was, because there were then some Differences subsisting between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. If this, my Lords, was our

A Reason for refusing the Guarantee at that Time, was it not a strong Reason for our accepting of the sole Mediation soon after offered to us, for removing those Differences. It certainly was; but our Minister was deterred by the Court of *France* from accepting of that Mediation, as well as he was from agreeing to the Guarantee, tho' it was very much the Interest of his Country to have accepted of the one, and agreed to the other.

With regard, my Lords, to the secret Engagements said to have been entered into by the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna* in the Year 1725, they were so positively and so publicly denied by the *Emperor* and *Spain*, as well as by a great Party in this Kingdom, that if our Ministers could have produced any positive Proofs of such Engagements having been entered into, I am sure, they would for their own Vindication have published them; and even suppose the Fact had been true, such Engagements might have raised our Indignation, but ought not to have raised our Resentment. We ought to have despised them, because they were such as it was impossible for the contracting Parties to execute. But I am fully convinced, and all the World now believes, there never were any such Engagements. The Case was quite otherwise. We were invited to accede to that Treaty, and it was very much our Interest to do so, in order to restore the antient Alliance between this Nation, *Spain*, and the *Emperor*. This was diametrically opposite to the Interest of the Court of *France*, therefore they resolved to prevent it; and our Minister being then, as he has

has been ever since, very much under the Influence of the Court of *France*; the Story of these secret Engagements was cook'd up by that Court; perhaps in Concert with our Minister, in order to prevail with his late Majesty to come into their Measures; and by the same Sort of Influence this Nation was afterwards made the Cat's Paw for breaking off all Correspondence between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, for establishing a lasting Cause of Quarrel between them, and for restoring and confirming a firm Union between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*.

As to the *Ostend* Company, my Lords, it was an Affair with which we had very little to do, any other Way than as it might breed a Quarrel between the *Emperor* and the *States General*: In this Light, indeed, it was our Business to prevent, if possible, the setting up of any such Company; and if we had strenuously opposed, and peremptorily declared against the setting up of any such Company, we might have prevented the granting of their Charter; but after the Charter was granted, I am sure it was not the Business of this Nation to be more forward and more zealous than the *Dutch* in taking Measures against it. I doubt much if the *Dutch*, notwithstanding the Influence their *East-India* Company have upon their publick Affairs, would on that Account have come to an open Rupture with the *Emperor*; because their Company, by lessening their Profits for a few Years, might have ruined the *Ostend* Company, without engaging their Government in the Dispute. But as the *Ostend* Company would have interfered very much with the *French India* Trade, then in its Infancy, and as our Minister was under the Influence of the Court of *France*, he was prevailed on to represent the *Ostend* Company, as an

Affair of the utmost Consequence to this Nation, and to make it a Condition *sine qua non* in the Continuation or Renewal of our Friendship with the *Emperor*.

There was therefore no one Reason in the World, besides the Influence of the Court of *France*, that could induce this Nation to conclude the Treaty of *Hanover*; and much less was there a Reason for our taking those Measures afterwards which put this Nation to so great Expence, run it into such a Labyrinth of Negotiations, created an open Rupture between us and *Spain*, and had like to have led us into a War, in Conjunction with *France* and *Spain*, against the *Emperor*. If the Design of the Treaty of *Vienna* had been to attack this Nation or the *Dutch*, we were sufficiently provided for our Defence, and even for assisting the *Dutch*, without putting ourselves to any new Expence, till after the Attack had been begun; and if the Design of that Treaty was to attack the *French*, I am sure it was none of our Business to prevent it.

I was really surprized to hear the noble Duke assert, that by the Treaty of *Seville* the *Spaniards* gave up their Pretensions to *Gibraltar*. By that Treaty, my Lords, they gave up nothing; all their Disputes with us, and all the Pretensions they had set up against us, were left in Suspence; and we expressly yielded up a Point which was of the most pernicious Consequence to the Affairs of *Europe*, and was a new Demonstration of the Influence the Court of *France* had over our Minister. I mean the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, which we not only consented to, but engaged to assist in making it good. This was like to have engaged us in a War against the *Emperor*; and to avoid this, which our Minister foresaw, no *British* Parliament could be

he prevailed on to approve, he was led on to the precipitate and ill-conducted Treaty with the *Emperor* in 1731, by which he guarantied the *Pragmatic Sanction* in the most absolute Terms, and engaged in a defensive Alliance with the *Emperor*, as express and general as any that could be concluded.

This Treaty stood in full Force in the Year 1733. The *Emperor* had done nothing I know of to disoblige us: Therefore, to know whether we were obliged to assist him at that Time, when he was attacked by *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, we must consider the Affairs of *Poland*, which, the *French* pretended, were the Cause of that Attack. I shall not enter into the Dispute, whether *Augustus* or *Stanislaus* was duly elected King of *Poland*: Perhaps neither of them was; but this I will say, that it was of dangerous Consequence to the Balance of *Europe* to have *Stanislaus* in the quiet Possession of that Crown; therefore we ought to have concurred with the *Emperor* in all peaceable Methods for preventing his Election; and if the *Emperor* brought a War upon himself by what we either did or ought to have concurred with him in, I think we were in Honour bound to assist him, even tho' there had been no defensive Alliance between us. But the Point of Duty was not then the only Point we had to consider; the Point of Interest was of greater Weight; and considering the Disputes we then had with *Spain*, it was our Interest at any Rate to preserve a close Correspondence with the Court of *Vienna*. The Preservation of the Balance of Power in *Europe* was not then the only Attachment we had to that Court: Our own immediate Safety was another and a stronger Attachment. We might have foreseen what we are now so much afraid of; we might then have fore-

seen the Danger of having *France* and *Spain* united in a War against us; and therefore, for our own immediate Safety, we ought to have supported at any Risk our Alliance with the Court of *Vienna*, unless we were resolved to bear with the Insults and Depredations of *Spain*, as long as they had a Mind to continue them; which was, perhaps, the Resolution of our Minister, and a Resolution he seemed resolved to stand to, if the Spirit of the Nation had not forced him to alter it.

The War therefore is no Proof of any Alteration in his Conduct, farther than he is forced to by the Spirit of the People; and the Prosecution hitherto gives some People a Suspicion, that he designed it rather as an Amusement for our own People, than as a Method for compelling the Enemy to do us Justice: At least, I am sure, we have as yet no Proof of his not being diverted or deterred, by the Menaces of *France*, from prosecuting the War in a vigorous and effectual Manner; and as I have shewn, that in other Parts of his Conduct, he has been often deterred by the Court of *France* from doing what he ought to have done, and even influenced by them to do what he ought not to have done, I think we ought to wait for such a Proof before we make him any Acknowledgments upon that Head.

For this Reason, my Lords, I cannot agree to that Part of the noble Lord's Motion, which proposes our making Acknowledgments to the Minister for his Wisdom in the Resolutions he has taken; and as for the Assurances proposed to be made to his Majesty, I think they are all contained in what the noble Duke has proposed, and much more strongly and sublimely expressed. The Sublime is always *Laconick*; and the noble Duke has taken care to express himself in the most *Laconick*,

nick, and the most comprehensive Manner. I shall never be against making the strongest Professions of Duty and Affection to his Majesty; but let us do it with Dignity: Zeal may sometimes carry Men too great a Length: I remember a Gentleman once said in the other House, He would sacrifice his Life and Fortune, *and more if it was necessary*, to the Service of his Sovereign. I do not say there is any such Blunder in what the noble Lord has been pleased to propose; but I think his Professions and Assurances are a little too much exaggerated, and by being so they are weakened. To assure his Majesty, that we will stand by him with our Lives and Fortunes, in the Prosecution of the just and necessary War in which he is engaged, is as much as we can say with regard to the present War; and if your Lordships think it necessary, you may add, or in any War in which his Majesty may be necessarily engaged, for maintaining the Balance and Liberties of Europe, on the Event of the late Emperor's Death.

[This JOURNAL to be continued in our next.]

A. Hosiarius Mancinus, in the Character of Lord Haversham.

A. Hortius, in the Character of Ld. Hyndford.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

S I R,

WHATEVER his Intentions may have been at first setting out, it hath been but too notorious, that Mr. Urban hath been for many Years past engaged in the Interest of the Enemies of his Country, how much Artifice soever he may have made use of to keep it from being perceived, by pretending to write against Persons whose

Transactions he is at the same Time setting in a more favourable Light than they could otherwise be represented by him with any Success, and by insinuating on the other hand, Things to the Disadvantage of those whose Endeavours to serve their Country he pretends heartily to wish might prevail. The End which he aims at by this Management, it is evident, is to induce People to despair of ever seeing their Grievances redress'd, tho' the united Voices and Endeavours of the Nation have never yet failed of obtaining it, as often as they have thought fit to exert themselves.

This Design of his is too notorious in the Speeches cook'd up by him in his pretended Debates in particular. But he hath discovered himself in nothing more than in his endeavouring to lessen the Value of the *Woollen Manufactures*, and to set the Attempts of those who are striving to preserve them to the Nation, and thereby the Nation to its Liberties, in a most odious Light, and such as nothing but the utmost Partiality could have done; and that at a Time when the *Legislature* was so well satisfied of the great Importance of those Manufactures, as to seem to be fully resolved to set about accomplishing so necessary a Work, and when it was not safe for any but such Tools * to touch on the Proceedings of the House, nor, consequently, to answer what he alleged, which could be done with no other View than that France might continue to have our Wool. For what else could he mean, when he insinuates that the *Woollen Manufactures* are but of little Value to us, and that, allowing them to be worth our Regard, yet our being rival'd in them is a Grievance that hath been always complain'd of, and what it is impossible to redress, and that

* None but a Tool could, without being call'd to answer for it, have said, whilst they were sitting, that Mr. Webber impos'd upon the House.

that it ought therefore to be borne with Patience; whereas, were but the immense Value of these Manufactures, and their Importance to us, as thoroughly understood as the Loss of them is sensibly felt by us, so fatal an Evil could not fail of being immediately remedied; especially as it hath been made appear, that the doing it is not only practicable, but that it is to be effected in a Manner perfectly consistent with our Constitution and Liberties.

Mr. Urban, then, having acted so very partially, and with such a View in a Matter which so greatly concerns the Nation, you are desired to insert the following Vindication of the great Value and Importance of these Manufactures, taken chiefly from the Writings of the Author of *The Consequences of Trade*, and of his Friends; which cannot be made too publick, nor too much inculcated, seeing that the great Calamities which are come upon us by our having lost so great a Share of our *Woollen Trade*, and the great Power to which our Enemies are arrived by gaining them, too plainly demonstrate, that if other Measures are not speedily taken, our utter Ruin will be inevitable.

The pretended Abstracts from the *Toll-Books of Smithfield*, which is all that Urban has to say against the Calculations in *The Consequences of Trade*, having been exposed, * I shall only observe, that he hath not thought fit to make any Reply to it, nor to shew, as he hath been challenged to do, that a less Quantity of Mutton than is mentioned in these Calculations to be weekly consumed, would serve the Town. And if these Calculations be true, from thence it appears, that

we have growing among us one Million and Half of Packs of Wool; which is one Third more than *The Consequences of Trade* advanced, upon the Authority of Mr. London; so far were the Draper and Mr. London from carrying their Calculations two Thirds too high, as Urban asserts †.

But to confirm these Calculations, and the great Value of the *Woollen Manufactures*, a Calculation hath been brought from Sir Walter Raleigh, ‡ who in a Memorial to King James, confidently asserts, that in his Time the Loss accruing to the Nation, from the Exportation of Cloth by the *Hamburg Company* only, by Reason of its not being dyed and finished here, amounted to a *Million sterling* yearly, tho' the Value of Money was so much greater at that Time than now; tho' the Quantity of Sheep bred and fed then, and consequently the Quantity of Wool grown among us, was much less, especially in *Ireland*; and tho' it be well known that the *dying and finishing* a Cloth after it is dyed, is by far the least considerable Part of *manufacturing* it in any Branch of Clothing, and that in many Branches it is but a Trifle in respect to other Parts of it.

Another Proof to confirm the said Calculations, and the great Value of these Manufactures, may be brought from that great Man, || when he asserts that the Money which arose by a Tax laid on *Wool* exported by *Edward III.* makes it appear that there were 100,000 Packs of it exported yearly for several Years together, from *England* only. And it ought farther to be considered, that we had Manufactures at that Time among us, which must needs consume a good Part of our Growth,

G g g 2 and

* See an Answer to the pretended Remarks on Mr. Webber's Scheme and the Draper's Pamphlet, &c.

† Admitting that the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms consume but one Pound of Mutton raw weekly one with another, it appears by pursuing these Calculations, that there cannot be less than a Million and Half Packs of Wool grown here, besides that the Irish and Scots are wont to export great Quantities of salted Mutton.

‡ See his Remains.

|| Ibidem.

and that there were at that Time less Quantities of Sheep bred and fed, and of Wool grown here, than there was in Sir *Walter's*; who asserted likewise, that the Woollen Manufactures of *England* were, in his Time, more valuable to our Ancestors, than the Mines of *America* were to the *Spaniards*; and no Person living was a better Judge of the Value of either than himself.

To this may be added what my Lord *Coke* asserts *, viz. That nine Parts of the Trade of *England* comes from the *Sheeps Back*; an Assertion easily to be demonstrated to be Matter of Fact: As also, that what Sir *Francis Brewster* gave as his Opinion is no less certain, viz. That it is possible for a Monarch of these Kingdoms to make all *Europe* Tributaries to him in Trade, by a due Improvement of our Wool.

And if the placing Sacks of Wool before the Eyes of the Legislature, in the supreme Assembly of the Nation, was not intended to signify as much, yet it must needs be allowed to be designed to make us sensible, and to keep us always apprized, that the Preservation of the *Woollen Manufactures* among us was the one Thing needful, and that our giving them to other Nations, especially to our hereditary Enemies, but too powerful without such an Acquisition, must infallibly be attended with our utter Ruin; which was all that was intended by the Calculations in Question, not to ascertain the exact Quantity of our Wool.

But the immense Value of the *Woollen Manufactures*, and their Importance to us, have been demonstrated not only by Arguments, but by Facts; and not by Facts which have happened before our Times, and such as we have read of only, but by what we see and

feel, ourselves, at present; not only from the Effects which they had on *Flanders* by their Improvement and Loss there, † but from our growing, like the *Flemmings*, as immensely rich whilst we cultivated the *Woollen*

A Trade, as we are becoming most miserably poor, after their Example, by the Loss of them. The same Effects of the *Woollen Trade*, upon the State of any Nation, appear in the present flourishing Condition of *France*, which is owing to their Improvement of their *Woollen Manufactures*. Thus, from every Nation's constantly and uniformly growing rich or poor, in Proportion to the Improvement or Decay of those Manufactures among them, it appears that these are not casual or occasional, but natural and necessary Effects. Neither is it to be wondered at, if we consider, that some Millions of People are employed in those Manufactures, whose Wages, paid by *Foreigners*, bring vast Treasures into a Nation, and give them an Influence abroad in Proportion to their Wealth; but that those very People, unemployed, become as great a Burden, by their Maintenance, as they were an Advantage before by their Labour. Now all the Wool that is grown among us, it is evident, is work'd up every Year at present, because it is bought up continually. And it is no less evident, that it is not work'd up by ourselves, from the starving Condition which the Manufacturers are reduced to every where for Want of Labour ‡. And that it hath been chiefly work'd up in *France* of late Years, as plainly appears, from the great Wealth and Power which that Nation is arrived at; for they have but little else than *Woolens* and *Fish* (which they also rob us of) to go to Market with, much less to acquire so great Wealth and

* Sir Francis Brewster on Trade. Manufactures, by John London. See an Answer to the pretended Remarks on Mr. Webster's Scheme and the Draper's Pamphlet.

† Some Considerations on the Importance of the Woollen Trade. ‡ See an Answer to the pretended Remarks on Mr. Webster's Scheme and the Draper's Pamphlet.

and Power by. What great Things they were able to do by these Manufactures, the very first Year of their Establishment among them, appears from the following Abstract, taken from one of their most celebrated Authors, which is another Proof of the great Value and Importance of these Manufactures.

"In the Year 1669, says Count Boulainvilliers, in a Memorial presented by him to the late Regent,* the King (*Levis XIV*) set to work 44,200 Looms in several Parts of the Kingdom, for manufacturing different Sorts of Woollens, and they went on with such Vigour, by the Encouragement which he gave them, that even in the same Year 670,540 Pieces of Cloths and Stuffs were finished for Market, amounting in Value to about two Millions Sterling. These Looms had employed about 60,440 Persons in Weaving only, besides a much greater Number consisting of Comb and Card-makers, Combers, Carders, Spinners, Scourers, Fullers, Dyers, Pressers, Carriers, &c."

And that the Manufactures which they have at present among them, must needs be dropt again, and they themselves be cloathed for the most Part with our Woollens, were they but deprived of our Wool, is evident from another of their Authors †, who boasts, that by having our Wool to mix and work up with their own, they at present not only cloath themselves with their own Woollen Manufactures, but most other Nations also.

It hath been, indeed, asserted by some who would be thought knowing in these Matters, that seven Millions Worth of Woollens is more than sufficient to cloath the known World yearly, and that therefore it is ridiculous and absurd to rate the Woollen Manufactures at so im-

mense a Value. But the Inhabitants of Great Britain, France and Ireland only, are computed to amount to upwards of forty Millions; and allowing every Person, one with another, to consume but ten Shillings in Woollens yearly for Cloaths, Furniture of Houses, &c. that Consumption alone would amount to twenty Millions Sterling and upwards. And these Countries bear no Proportion to the known World. From hence then will appear, that there is no Absurdity in rating these Manufactures at so high a Value, but consummate Ignorance, or somewhat worse, in undervaluing them so much.

Again, it hath been calculated ‡, and every Person of Judgment must allow it to be just, that 250,000 Packs of our Wool yearly is but sufficient to cloath fourteen Millions of Persons, and consequently that the one Million of Packs, on which the Calculations quoted by the Draper are founded, will not cloath more than fifty six Millions, which Number the Inhabitants of Germany (Hungary and Bohemia included) and France are thought to exceed, and which also bear no very great Proportion to the Universe.

Now nothing is more certain, than that no Nation on Earth besides ourselves hath Wool enough of their own to cloath themselves with, could they manufacture it. This appears in that when our Manufactures were flourishing, we not only cloathed the French in a good Measure with our Woollens, but also served all other Nations with those Goods; tho' other Nations having hitherto found Means to get more or less of our Wool, have been always in a greater or lesser Degree Sharers with us in those Manufactures. And it being universally allowed, that no Wool, if they had ever

* Printed with his History of the ancient Parliaments of France.

† *Spéciale de la*

Nature, ‡ Some Considerations on the Importance of the Woollen Manufactures.

ever so much of it, will work to any Perfection without some Mixture of ours; therefore, if we once confined these Manufactures to ourselves, by preventing effectually the Exportation of our Wool, we should ingross the Cloathing of the Universe to ourselves by it, and none but the lowest Class of Mankind would be able to do without us; and consequently even a Million and half of Packs of Wool yearly would not be found sufficient for that Purpose; so that instead of having our Wool to lie on hand for Want of Demand, or instead of the Government's being burdened with helping it off either to *manufacture*, or to *burn* it, we should be obliged either to increase our own Sheep, or to import the best Wool we may be able to get from other Nations.

Since my writing the above, I have met with the following Calculation in the *Daily Post* of July 31, which comes to much about those made use of by the Draper.

"The Number of Acres of Land in *England* and *Wales* are estimated at *thirty nine Millions, thirty four* of which are esteemed Arable, Pasture and Meadow Ground; with the Forests, Moors and Commons improved out of these *thirty four*, we will desire only *thirty Millions*, on which we will suppose Sheep to have their Food: One half Part of this Land, I dare say, is Arable, but still relieves the other Part in some Seasons of the Year, as a Sheep Pasture, either with Turnips, Grass-Seeds, or Stubble Herbage: Then I may be bold to say, take the Sortments together, we may allow *one Sheep* to be maintain'd on each Acre, and each Sheep, one with another, to produce four Pounds of Wool annually, which amounts to 500,000 Packs."

Now it must be allow'd, that the Wool of *Scotland* and *Ireland* together must amount to, at least, as

much as the Wool of *England* and *Wales*.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

Universal Spectator, July 25. N^o 668.

Mr. Stonecastle,

I HAVE sent you a short Case of an unhappy Lady, which, as it is a serious and a true one, I desire you would not lay aside among your Band-boxes of old Papers.

Lucillia was, about two Years ago, the reigning Toast of the Eastern Part of this City: She had indeed Beauty, and that Foible also which too commonly attends it, a vain Pride from her knowing that she had it: And what still more contributed to raise her Pride, was a Consciousness that she had 3000*l.* in her own Disposal. When such Charms are center'd in one Woman, she could not be without Admirers: *Lucillia* was the Desire of the Men, and the Envy of the Women, but tho' several Matches, every Way agreeable, were propos'd, she refus'd them all with Contempt; her Pride made her less charming in the Eyes of the Men, and more intolerable in the Eyes of the Women: The most ardent Lover may with Regret bear a Denial, but not to be despis'd: A Woman may with a silent Envy behold the superior Beauty of another, but she will break out into Reflections, when that Beauty produces an Air of Arrogancy and Pride. *Lucillia* had from her Conduct occasion'd this publick Remark on her, *That Pride might have a Fall*. In these Circumstances she receiv'd the Addresses of a new Lover from the Court-End of the Town: He had seen her in the *Mall*, and had a sudden Passion for her; he got introduced to her at a publick Entertainment in the City; he talked to her, danced with her, and gained Leave to make her a Visit; he came accordingly in a Chariot with a gay Equipage, and

as he was a handsome young Fellow in his Person, he met with a much better Reception than any other Admirer: In short the Equipage, as much as the Man, charm'd *Lucillia*: On Inquiry she was inform'd he was a Man of Fortune, and in ten Days Courtship she yielded. The Marriage was solemniz'd with Pomp, and the Lady left the City for *Grosvenor-street*: She rattled about in her Chariot, and gave herself all the Airs of a Woman of Quality. But all this was only a visionary Scene; as soon as her Husband was in Possession of her Fortune, an Execution came into the House, and seized on Plate, Furniture, Chariot, Horses, and all the Paraphernalia (as the Laureat expresses it) of a Woman of Distinction. She soon found she had marry'd a young Fellow, who had run through a small Fortune in the Gaieties of high Life, and had no other Expedient than Marriage to keep him out of a Gaol. To this Misfortune she had another added, which was to find her Beauty was not a Charm prevalent enough to gain scarcely civil Usage from her Husband, who thought so little of her, that he employed the Remainder of her Money to buy a Commission, and without any Reluctance went on the late Expedition to the *West-Indies*. Reduced in so short a Time to such deplorable Circumstances, *Lucillia* was obliged to return home to an Aunt for a Maintenance; but it is impossible to express the Torments she undergoes at the Reflections she makes on her Conduct. She inveighs against herself, and from the melancholy State she is in, would move Pity in those who once might have thought she could never have deserved it from them. That Bloom of Beauty, which at her Years would now be in Perfection, is blasted and decay'd; the Canker of Sorrow has destroy'd it, and she is a mournful

Example to other young Women of Beauty, not to have too much Vanity or Pride on that Account. If my having given this Instance of Female Foibles should have any proper Effect on your fair and young Readers, it will answer the Intent of
Your humble Servant,

EUDAMON.

The unhappy Case of this young Gentlewoman (says Mr. *Stonecastle*) needs no Aggravation, her Punishment is sufficient; yet this Remark occurs, that Persons the most elate in Prosperity, are the most dejected in Adversity. *Eudocia* brought her Husband 10,000*l.* and he made one of the greatest Figures in Trade in this City:—She was in a great Affluence of Fortune both at home and abroad; yet good-natur'd in her Temper, and prudent in her Economy. It happen'd her Husband's Affairs took an unfortunate Turn, which as soon as she knew, she persuaded him to retrench his Expences, and lay down his Coach, comforted him in his Trouble, kept up a pleasing Chearfulness, and perform'd all the Duties of a good Wife and good Christian. After some severe Trials she lost her Husband, and was left to bring up three Children with a very small Jointure. She met this Adversity with a Courage proper to struggle thro' it; she retain'd her Good-Nature, was prudent, careful and resign'd, shewing a Spirit that was truly heroick, raising more Wonder and Esteem in her Adversity, than her most prosperous Estate. That Sentence of *Seneca*, *Bona rerum secundarum optabilia, adversarum mirabilia*, *The good Things which attend Prosperity are to be wish'd, but the good Things that attend Adversity are to be admir'd*, is a fine Piece of Philosophy. The Virtue of Prosperity is Temperance, but the Virtue of Adversity is Fortitude; and my Lord

Bacon

Bacon observes, Prosperity *best* discovers Vice, but Adversity *best* discovers Virtue.

Craftsman, August 1. N^o 787.

A second DIALOGUE between
COURTLY GRUB, Esq; and Mr.
D'ANVERS, upon the present State
of Affairs. (See p. 299.)

Grub. **W**HAT do you think of
your Idol-Admiral now,
Mr. D'Anvers?

D'Anvers. Why I think of him, B
Mr. Grub, just as I always did;
that he is not only a brave and ex-
perienced Commander, but a wor-
thy, good-natured, honest English-
man.

Grub. Ay, so I thought you would
say.—But how can you defend the
late rash and fatal Enterprize against
Cartagena?

D'Anvers. Why I think, Sir, that
it requires no Defence, or even the
least Apology, as far as Admiral Ver-
non was concern'd in it, whatever
may be laid to the Charge of others.

Grub. Whom do you mean, Sir?

D'Anvers. I can see no Occasion
for such a Question; nor will a par-
ticular Answer to it be of any Use.
Every Man of Sense knows, and is
now fully convinced, upon whom
the whole Blame of our late Mis- E
carriage there ought to be laid.

Grub. But can you lay your Hand
upon your Heart, Mr. D'Anvers, and
say truly that you are not a little
prejudiced in these Affairs?

D'Anvers. Sir, I shall not insist
on my own hearty good Wishes for F
the Honour, Interest, and Prosperity
of my native Country, which the
lowest Writer in the *Gazetteer* may
pretend, as well as another. But
the Case seems to be plain enough
at present, without any such Asse-
veration; if any Credit may be G
given to the most authentick Ad-
vices from that Part of the World.
—To come then to the Point, that

is, to what Causes, and to whose
Conduct, our late Repulse at Carta-
gena was really owing, after Sir
Chaloner Ogle's Fleet and the Land
Forces arrived there.

Grub. Why, I think, it is gene-
rally allow'd, on both Sides, that it
was chiefly owing to the natural
Distemper of the Country, at that
Time of the Year.

D'Anvers. Partly, I confess; and
that is well known to have been
occasion'd by the auxiliary Fleet's
joining Admiral Vernon so late, and
at the most sickly Season of the
whole Year, which you ascribe to
the Winds, and I to another Cause;
but this is still beating about the
Bush, and not coming to the true
Point, which I mention'd just be-
fore, viz. to whom our Misfortune
against the Town of Cartagena ought
to be imputed, after the Conjun-
tion of our Fleet, and Land-Forces,
exclusive of the unwholesome Climate,
and the Season of the Year.

Grub. I should be glad of your
Opinion first upon that Head.

D'Anvers. With all my Heart,
Sir.—First then, if any Confidence
can be put in all the Accounts hi-
therto received, relating to that Af-
fair, and which have not been yet
publickly contradicted, the Blame
cannot be justly laid at the Admi-
ral's Door; for it appears, that he
took care to secure by his Ships a
safe Landing for the Army, as near
Cartagena as they could desire, with-
out their having so much as a single
Musquet-shot fired at them; to land
all their Artillery; and whatever
else they desired afterwards. When
they were repulsed in their Attack
upon the Town, he took the same
Care of their Re-imbarkation, with-
out having so much as a single Mus-
quet-shot fired at them, by posting
his Ships in a proper Manner to co-
ver them. In short, he did every
Thing, as far as depended on Sea-
Service, or was practicable that
Way,

Way, having entirely destroy'd all the Enemy's Shipping, and promised to leave all the Forts, which guarded their Harbour, intirely demolish'd.—But as *my Proceedings* do not belong to his Province, he modestly chose to leave the Relation of that Part of the Expedition to *themselves*.

Grub. Ay now, Sir, you begin to open yourself, and I can easily guess at your Drift; which is absolutely to exculpate the *Seamen*, and lay the whole Blame upon the *Land-Forces*.

D'Anvers. No, Mr. *Grub*, I have no such Design, or to make any Reflexions upon the Conduct and Bravery of the Land Officers; especially the principal and most experienced ones; who are generally allow'd to have done their Duty, and several of them lost their Lives in the Service of their Country, for which I am heartily sorry.—But will you pretend to say that the Troops under their Command were the most proper Regiments to be sent on such an important, expensive, and hazardous Expedition?

Grub. Why not, good Mr. *D'Anvers*?

D'Anvers. We might have easily spared a sufficient Number of our *oldest, regular Forces*, instead of *raw, new-raised Corps*, who had not Time to be taught Half their Business, and very few of them enured to the Inclemencies of any Climate, except their own.—What could the *best Officers* perform with such a Body of Men, against *disciplined Troops*?

Grub. What, would you have our *best Troops* sent abroad, and expose our own Mother Country to the Defence of the worst, against foreign Invasion, domestic Insurrections, and Insults of all Kinds, at such a critical Conjunction, as you have often call'd it in your Writings?

D'Anvers. I am quite amazed to hear you, Sir, talk at this Rate, which is downright *Gazetter Language*, and much beneath our Conversation, as you have more than once acknowledged.—Let these low, ignorant Fellows say what they please, about Invasions from abroad, or Insurrections and Insults at home; I will fairly ask you, as a Gentleman, tho' of different Opinions from my own, whether we are in any real Danger from either, whilst our Coasts are guarded with such a powerful Squadron of Ships, and such a numerous Army of Land-Forces, as the People are still oblig'd to support, under all other hard Pressures; whether the Remainder of our *old disciplined Troops*, with the *new-raised Regiments*, and the whole Body of the *Militia*, would not have been able to protect and defend us at home?

Grub. Well, Sir, granting you this *Postulatum*, I believe you will have more Candour and Justice than to say that no *old and regular Troops* were sent from hence, upon this Expedition to the *West-Indies*.

D'Anvers. No, Sir, I scorn to deny the Truth, as far as it comes to my Knowledge; and therefore own that I have heard of *two old Regiments*, which were sent there and behaved with great Gallantry. You cannot expect that I should particularize them; for I have a sincere Respect for the Officers of our *Land-Forces*, which are necessary for our *own proper Defence*; and therefore must be excused for not distinguishing any of them, lest I should give Offence to the rest.

Common Sense, Aug. 1. N^o 233.

S I R,

I Am a Native of *New England*, and having read in your Paper of *March 21*, some Part of a very curious Speech, supposed to be deliver'd by his Excellency *Jonathan Belcher*, Esq; to the Great and General Council, or Assembly of his Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New England*, (see p. 141, &c.) I thought it the Duty of an honest Man to set you right with Respect to some Mistakes into which you have fallen.

In your Observations on that Affair, you compute the Value of the Employment of Auditor of all his Majesty's Revenues in *America* to be worth 3 or 4000*l.* a Year. If you had enquired of Persons acquainted with the Revenues of the Sugar Colonies, and of others who could inform you of the Revenues of the Provinces on the Continent; and had you taken the Pains to have inform'd yourself what the Auditor's Part is upon each, and then have cast up the Whole, you would have computed it at twice so much: But, alas! Sir, the State or Importance of the *American Colonies* is so little understood or regarded here, that I remember when I was last in *England*, about 3 Years since, the common Talk among the Placemen, among all the Tools of a certain Person was, that it would be better for *England* if all the Plantations were at the Bottom of the Sea; yes, Sir, thus they talk'd of those Dominions, which have brought in so many Millions to *England*; of those Dominions, which constantly employ an infinite Number of Shipping; of those Dominions, to which the Naval Power of *England* owes its Rise, and which are, and must be the chiefest Support of that Power.

If you should ask, how they came to think of *America* at that Time at all, you may remember that the constant Depredations of the *Spaniards* on Ships trading to *America*, had roused the Spirit of the Nation here; and a great Man who, it seems, is no Conjuror at making Treaties, being a little perplex'd how to manage at that Crisis, those worthy Persons call'd Placemen were for sinking us to the Bottom of the Sea, rather than a Man who had it in his Power to bestow Bribes

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and

and Pensions, should suffer a Minute's Uneasiness upon our Account.

What is more extraordinary is, that the very Place-Hunters, who are the keenest Animals in every Thing that regards private Interest, of any in the Creation, should be most of them totally ignorant of the Value of Things in *America*, otherwise so rich a Morfel as that Employment could not be possess'd for 22 Years by the same Man (for so long hath the present Possessor enjoy'd it,) without the least Envy; nay, so little hath it been minded, that when the Placemen have been computing the vast Sums of Money that Person hath receiv'd from the Publick, this Employment, more lucrative than all the rest, hath often been omitted, as a Thing not worth naming; yet I shall not stick to tell you, that if the Duke of *Marlborough* were still living, and had the Profits of this Employment given him for 22 Years, as the Reward of all his Victories, he would not be ill paid. I may assure you that the Government hath not a more beneficial Employment to bestow, and no other Government in *Europe* one so good; and if you had computed that he had already receiv'd 200,000*l.* out of it, I am of Opinion you would have been within the Truth. If you talk to others who know any Thing of the Affairs of *America*, they will compute it higher.

However, a Precedent is quoted of a Recompence having been once given by the General Council, or Assembly of *Massachusetts Bay*, to this Officer. The Fact is true: Mr. *Blair* having done the Province some particular Service, which I have forgot, the Assembly voted him a Present of 100*l.* *New England Money* (near 70*l.* Sterling:) It was given unask'd, and it is the only one that was ever given; be that as it will, all the World must allow that for a Person immensely enrich'd, nay almost glutted with publick Money, to send so far as *America* to beg for 70*l.* must be a singular Piece of Humility; but since my Arrival in *Old England* I have heard of Persons prodigious wealthy, whose great and generous Souls would stoop so low as to pick the Gilding from a Bit of Gingerbread (if it belong'd to the Publick) in order to encrease their own Store.

The Friends of the two great Men have been very free in condemning his Excellency's Conduct on this Occasion; they say, he hath managed like a Man that was not acquainted so much as with the A B C of Business; that there are Rules and Precedents for all Kinds of Jobb Work, which every Fool now understands.

It seems, his Excellency should have privately instructed some of his Friends in the Assembly, to have mov'd for a Recompence for their worthy and disinterested Officer; he should have promised them a Fellow-feel-

ing in the Matter; he should not only have denied having receiv'd any Instructions about it, but have appear'd surpriz'd when the Motion was made; and then he might have had an Opportunity of declaring, that since it came from their own free Will, without the least Expectation of the Hon. Gentleman, it would be the more acceptable. This would be doing Business. But to lay before them a begging Letter, and to conclude with some Menaces, that he expected a Recompence, was a Method of Proceeding fit only for a Man that does not deserve to be a Sharer in any good Jobb.

I cannot think the G——r could receive Instructions from hence to proceed in the Manner he has done; for it is well known, that the illustrious Person who begged the Recompence, understands Trap: However, I hope his Excellency will not suffer for this Slip, since upon other Occasions he hath manifested himself to be very much a Governor.

Give me Leave to acquaint you, that the Influence of the present excellent Administration hath extended itself as far as *America*; we are so happy to have Persons sent over to us to administer in our little Governments, who tread in the Steps of their Superiors here, and imitate their Examples: Our Placemen promote the Interest of the Country just as much as yours; nay, they don't only fill our Purks as yours do, but they mend our Manners.

There is one who has the Honour to be Deputy to the Hon. Gentleman, who did the Governor the Honour to write him that honourable Letter: This Deputy has a Seat in the Council: He is so like the Principal, that it is hard to know one from the other; they have the same Air, the same Look, the same Motions, the same Phrases, and one would think the same Breaches.——I can shew you, that he is even as great a Wit as his Principal.

The Governor having the Misfortune, in some Debate, to differ in Opinion with the Deputy, and the Opposition growing warm by the Parties producing Reasons on both Sides, the Deputy, to convince his Excellency that he was in the wrong, bid him kiss his A—se.——I leave you to judge, whether ever Man was so truly represented.

If to elevate and surprize be the distinguishing Mark and Property of Wit, a brighter Thing was never said; the whole Assembly started, as if a Cannon had been fired in the Midst of them; not a Word more was spoke, the Business of the Day was at an End, all their Care now was to hinder it coming to a boxing Bout.

As the contending Parties were both known to be the most obsequious humble Servants of one Man, it was looked upon as portending some Revolution in Affairs of Government, that

that two such Intimates, two Brothers in I—— should fall out: Secrets might come to Light, and the Disaffected, a numerous Party with us as well as with you, might rejoice. You know that no Enemies are so implacable as Friends fallen out.

Bella inter geminos plura quam civilia fratres.

The fatal Consequence was, that the G—— suspends the Deputy from his Seat in the Council; the Deputy, as you may imagine, makes his Complaint to his Principal, of the Indignity that had been offer'd him in *America* in the Person of him his Deputy; the Principal (as we were inform'd) writes to the G—— to restore him.—— What farther has been done in the Matter I B know not.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 1. N^o 669.

THE TRUE LOVERS, and GENEROUS UNCLE: Or, a Story relating to Marriage, proper for the Consideration of Parents.

*Felices ter & amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet Copula, nec
Suprema citius solvat amor Die.*

Hor.

Mr. Spectator,

I Have a Brother, a Tradesman in this City, who can give his Daughter, his only Child, 1500*l.* to her Fortune, which I intended to make up 2000*l.* She was courted by Mr. Ledger, a young Man just set up in a very considerable Trade, and who bore an excellent Character: Her Father approv'd of this Match, and every Thing was agreed on; nor could any Marriage promise to be a more happy one, as the young People had settled a strong and mutual Affection between them.——About six Weeks ago a *Gloucestershire* Lady, a distant Relation of my Brother's Wife, came to Town with her eldest Son, whom she was going to send on his Travels, The young 'Squire had never been at *London* before, nor indeed above ten Miles from his own Estate in his Life. He had been bred up under the Tuition of his *Mamma*, and a pedantick *Grammarian* who taught *Latin* in the Neighbourhood; by which he had always had his Will in every Thing, nor was ever thwarted in his Humour: He is not therefore as learned, polite and accomplish'd, as some Gentlemen who have a less Fortune than his, of 1200*l.* per Annum; yet he has his Excellencies: He can break a *Setting Dog* to Admiration, will make a *May Fly* with any Man in the Kingdom, can hunt his own Hounds, dress his own Horses, drink his own Ale, keep Company with his own Servants, and write his own Name.

I am very far from exaggerating his Character; for, in Truth, I never saw a more

awkward, boorish, positive, senseless Dolt: He has given me a Proof, that such Characters as his drawn in *Comedies* are not what I always thought before, *beyond Nature*; he is the very *Numps* in the *Accomplish'd Fools*, and 'Squire *Richard* in the *Journey to London*.

However, as Gentlemen travel, he was to go into foreign Parts to finish his Education, after he had got a little Smattering of *French* in *London*: A Master was got; but the young 'Squire, after two or three Lessons, fairly declar'd to his *Mamma*, that he was too old to be taught his ABC again, and, in short, he would learn none of your outlandish Languages; so *Mamma* laid aside all Thoughts of his Travelling, and acquainted my Sister, that she should now endeavour to settle him at home, as soon as she could find a good Match for him. My Sister immediately informed her, it would be very proper, before he run into any of the Vices of the Town, and that she could mention an agreeable young Lady she had seen, but then her Fortune would not perhaps be thought proportionable. On Inquiry who the Lady was, and what her Fortune was, my Sister, with an Air of Gaiety, half in Jest, half in Earnest, told her it was her Daughter *Fanny*. The Proposal was not ill receiv'd by the old Lady, who was very fond of *Fanny*, and was her Godmother: In short, the two Mothers made the Match, settled Articles and Conditions: The 'Squire's *Mamma* was to receive herself 1000*l.* of *Fanny's* Portion, and make him marry her for Love, and *Fanny's* *Mamma* the other 1000*l.* Thus both their Children were agreed to be sold. My Brother readily agreed to it, and nothing now remain'd but for the young 'Squire to fall in Love as soon as he would.——The 'Squire's *Mamma* bid him court her for a Wife, and *Fanny's* order'd her to receive him as the Person she must have for her Husband: Her Father laid on her the same Command. She was left alone with him at appointed Times to receive his Addresses, which may rather be conceiv'd than describ'd: Mr. Ledger, during this Time, at a Visit he paid, was told by my Sister to think no more of *Fanny*, for that her Mind was chang'd, and her Daughter's too.

You must imagine the honest Lover was alarm'd at such Treatment, but could obtain no Reason for it: He attributed it to several Causes, and, among others, to the Infidelity of his Mistress; but it was not long before that was clear'd up by a Letter she sent him, acquainting him with the whole Proceedings, and her steadfast Resolution to keep that Faith, which she had inviolably plighted to him. Mr. Ledger on this wrote me Word of this Event, with my Niece's Letter inclos'd, urging me to come to Town, and use my Interest with my Brother, not to let this Marriage proceed, but to give his Daughter

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where

where he had first promis'd and engag'd her. —I came to Town; found all Things settled for this new Match, and a great Joy in my Brother and Sister, with as much Grief in my Niece. Before I talk'd to the Father or Mother, I had a Mind to hear *Fanny's* real Sentiments, which were the same as her Letter: With a Flood of Tears, she told me her Case was the most unhappy; that she would never marry the 'Squire, be the Event what it would; that she lov'd Mr. *Ledger* as she believ'd he did her, yet she could not expect that he would marry her without any *Fortune*, as to be sure her Father would give her none, if she disobey'd him. I comforted her, and promis'd to do all in my Power for her true Interest and Happiness: I accordingly after Dinner open'd the whole I knew of the Affair to my Brother and Sister, and urg'd all I could to prove that they were going to make their *Child unhappy for Life*, only for the Sake of marrying her to a *Booby of Fortune*, and that it was unjust and ungenerous to break off with Mr. *Ledger*. My Sister immediately answer'd me with great Warmth, 'That the Disposal of her Child was no Business of mine, and that it was come to a fine Pass if the Love Whims of a Girl were to be regarded; that she should marry the 'Squire, and be obedient to her now, and it was the 'Squire's Business to keep her obedient to him afterwards.' My Brother was wise enough to second her Resolution, and swore if his Daughter was obstinate enough to deny his Command, he would turn her out of Doors, leave her to *Beggary*, and never own her again. I cannot describe the Agony of Grief my Niece burst into on this Occasion; drown'd in Tears, she fell at her Father's and Mother's Feet, and said and did all to move their Pity, protesting she had rather die than be sacrific'd to a Person she hated.—Vain were all her Entreaties: She was bid to make herself easy, for that next Week was agreed on for her Marriage, and that it was not her Tears nor her Uncle's *Preaching* which should alter their Resolution. In this State I left them, and immediately acquainted Mr. *Ledger* of every Circumstance, particularly *Fanny's* Determination of not being false to him, tho' she could never hope to have him, as her Father would give her no *Portion* for her *Disobedience*. While I spoke, I observ'd the young Man change Colour, and that he was at once agitated with Pleasure and Pain: After a Pause of deep Thought, Well, said he, I have but one Thing to do: I'll write to *Fanny*; you shall see the Letter, and her Answer must end the whole Affair: On this he wrote as follows:

My dear FANNY,

YOUR Uncle has acquainted me of your generous Attachment to those Vows

which we once mutually made; were those less regarded, I should attribute your Change to your Parents Compulsion, not your Inclination: The Circumstances you are in shock me, as you have Tempers to deal with not the most inclin'd to Pity or Reason. I have not, dear *Fanny*, a less generous Love for you, and know this only Method of giving you an Instance of it; that, as I think your Duty to your Parents is not to make yourself unhappy, I will without any Consideration of Fortune do all in my Power to make you happy, by making the Happiness of us both depend on that conjugal Affection which we shall mutually shew to each other.

Yours, as much as ever,

W. LEDGER.

P. S. I desire your Answer by your Uncle.

I deliver'd my Niece the Letter, who return'd to her Closet and brought me this Answer.

S I R,

THE Honour you behave with is inexpressibly agreeable: But I shall to the last Moment possible keep my Duty to my Father and Mother, in Hopes their Temper may change: If it does not, I shall next *Tuesday* Morning make my Escape (which I have settled) to my Uncle's Lodging, instead of going to Church with the 'Squire; with my Uncle, you may conduct me to what Church you please, and by all Love and Affection I shall endeavour to return yours.

FANNY TRUEBEE.

After I read it, I agreed to act my Part of conducting to the Happiness of two young People who had such right Sentiments of it: Every Thing proceeded as before, and the Day appointed for *Fanny's* Marriage with the 'Squire arriv'd, when she took an Opportunity, early in the Morning, to slip from her Father's House, and come to my Lodgings: Mr. *Ledger* waited there to receive her as his Bride, when we agreed to try first, if the Loss of their Daughter might not bring my Brother and Sister to Reason. I went to them, but they were enrag'd at their Disappointment, and said, as I had induc'd her to run away, I might keep her, for they would look on her no more as their Child. When some Days had been spent in a fruitless Application, I agreed that Mr. *Ledger* might marry my Niece when he would: A Day was appointed, and they were both made happy. As on the Wedding Day I had intended to give *Fanny* 500*l.* which Mr. *Ledger* did not know, nor had any Dependence on me at all, I made him a Present of 1000*l.* and as I have no Children, will leave him all I have, for being an honest Man and a generous Lover.

Time may reconcile my Brother and Sister, especially

especially when they find their Child is really made happy without their Assistance; for I would have them reflect, with all other Parents who read this Story, to what desperate Resolutions young People may be forc'd when they are compell'd to marry against their Inclinations: They run either into immediate Ruin, or drag out Life under the Misery of an unhappy Marriage, which they look on as a Curse entail'd on them by their Parents. — I wish all Parents were in this Respect of the same Way of thinking with him who is mine.

MICRO.

The Craftsman of the 8th Instant is again upon the Affair of *Cartagena*, which he thinks ought to be enquired into. *Common Sense* shews how a Minister may be known by his Company, and concludes with the following Fable from Mr. Gay.

A Greedy vulture, skill'd in game,
Inur'd to guilt, unaw'd by shame,
Approach'd the throne in evil hour,
And step by step intrudes to pow'r:
When at the royal eagle's ear
He longs to ease the monarch's care:
The monarch grants. — With pride elate,
Behold him minister of state!
Around him throng the feather'd rout;
Friends must be serv'd, and some must out.
Each thinks his own the best pretension;
This asks a place, and that a pension.
The nightingale was set aside:
A forward daw his room supply'd.
This bird, (says he) for business fit,
Hath both sagacity and wit;
With all his turns, and shifts and tricks,
He's docile, and at nothing sticks.
The hawk had due distinction shewn,
For parts and talents like his own.
Thousands of hireling cocks attend him,
At blaw'ring bullies to defend him.
At once the ravens were discarded,
And magpies with their posts rewarded.
Those fowls of omen I detest,
They pry into another's nest:
State lies must lose all good intent,
For they foretell, and croak th' event.
My friends ne'er think, but talk by rote,
Speak what they're taught, and so to vote.
When rogues like these (a sparrow cries)
To honours and employments rise,
I court no favour, — ask no place;
From such, preferment is disgrace:
Within my thatch'd retreat I find
(What these ne'er feel) true peace of mind.

Universal Spectator, Aug. 3. N° 670.

A new Kind of PALMESTRY.

Mr. Stonecastle,

THERE is a Branch of Knowledge, call'd *Cbiriromancy* or *Palmestry*, by which

the Adepts in it pretend to tell Persons their Fortunes by the Lines of their Hands: This I look upon as absur'd, and aver, that what Knowledge can be found from the Hand, is only to find what Effects it has on the Mind.

It has lately been experimentally try'd all over the Kingdom, that let Men think as strongly as they will one Way, by a proper Touch in the Palm, or particular Squeeze in the Hand, they have immediately thought the other; and the Sensation was so quick and communicative, that it not only operated on the Brain, but affected the Tongue to speak what Words the Toucher of the Hand commanded. The greatest Adept in this Kind of *Cbiriromancy* calls it the *Political Touch*; and will undertake, after having rightly touch'd some Hands, to communicate to them such a Power, that they shall have the same Effect on other Minds, as his had on theirs. As this is an *Arcanum of State*, I will not pretend to account for it. But it is well known what Power a Pressure of the Hand has at *Westminster-Hall*. I have seen a Sage of the *Long Robe* who could not open his Mouth nor speak a Word, only by having two little Pieces of Metal of a yellow Colour press'd on the Centre of the Palm, immediately inspir'd to rise up with great Vehemence, open his Mouth as wide as he could distend it, and talk away for an Hour together without Fear or Wit. In *Physick* the very same Operation has somewhat different Effect; for the *Effluvia* of the Metal, by a communicative Quality, first contracts the Muscles of the Face into what they call the *wise Look*, then it acts for the Space of one Moment on the Brain, so re-communicating itself to the Nerves of the Hand, the Hand falls a writing an unintelligible Scrawl, which frequently is as much as a *Life's Worth*. The Ecclesiastical Hands operate on the Mind by being us'd in another Manner; for they must have certain Things put into them, call'd *Presentations*, *Rectorships*, *Pluralities*, *Deanaries*, *Sees*, *Translations*, *Commendams*, &c. &c. All these highly delight and comfort the Brain, the Heart, and the whole animal System: But it is observ'd, when these are put into some Hands, they occasion a languid Indolence; in others they excite two opposite Prensies, both of a Nature equally dangerous, call'd *Orthodoxy* and *Heterodoxy*: When this happens there are great Disputes about the Distemper, some saying *Heterodoxy* is *Orthodoxy*, and *Orthodoxy* is *Heterodoxy*.

To leave *Political*, *Law*, *Physical*, and *Ecclesiastical* Hands to their own Operations, I shall only illustrate my Proposition by another Instance, and that is the *Lower's Hand*.

In *Love* nothing is more expressive, or better communicates our own Thoughts, or affects others, than the Hand: Not even the Eyes. The Hand is the first Thing that speaks

speaks the Heart intelligibly: By the gentle Squeeze, or light Pressure of the Finger, a bashful young Fellow can declare what his Tongue could not utter; and a modest young Woman may, by a small Touch, give him a Hint, she knows what he means, with the utmost Decency. It is, I take it, from this sensitive Communication between the Hand and the Head, that the gallant Compliment arose of a Lover's Desire to kiss his Mistress's fair Hands, in order to kiss her Lips: Nay, so surely is the Hand known to be very efficacious in Love Affairs, that the Learned in Chiromancy have dedicated one Part of it to the Goddess of Beauty, which they call *Mons Veneris*, or the Mount of Venus. To conclude, such Power some fair Hands have on the Senses, that many have thought a fine Hand made a fine Woman.

PHILOCHIRON.

Daily Gazetteer, Aug. 10.

I Would not willingly be thought a Person inclined to alarm my Countrymen, either thro' Mistake or an Inclination to misguide them; and therefore I think it incumbent upon me to support what I not long ago advanced, and to prove to the Satisfaction of every impartial Briton, that the Scheme published in the *Country Journal* of July 25, (see p. 351.) is of a very extraordinary Nature, and sufficiently intimates a Desire at least of changing our Constitution.

It is premised by the Author of that Paper, that a List of the Members of the present Parliament had been published in the *London Evening-Post*, a distinguished List too, wherein every Member was characteriz'd. But this List, particular as it was, did not answer all Purposes: Because, says this Writer, it was not formed in the most perspicuous Manner for discerning the present true Sense and Disposition of the Nation. These Words are the Key, not only to the proper Sense of this Craftsman, but also to the Designs of the Patriots. The rest of the Observations are intended purely to support this, and to possess every Peruser with a strong Opinion, that the subsequent List does not only point out who and who are together, but also who are truly Representatives of their Country, and who, in the Judgment of this Writer and his Party, ought not to be so accounted. In Prosecution of this View, he asks this Question, *What does it signify to count the Number of Representatives in general, without distinguishing whom, or what Places and Persons they are chosen to represent?* Why really it does not signify much to his Purpose to count the Number of Representatives in general, tho' to every other Purpose it does, and the Constitution knows no other Manner of counting. From whatever Places Members come, or

whoever they represent, when they have once taken their Seats, the Law supposes them to be all equal; and so it ought, for they are all Members of the same Commonwealth, and they make Laws for all. This is naturally just and equitable, and has been thought so for a long Series of Years by our Ancestors as well as ourselves, yet this Writer has discover'd, that it is no more than an old vulgar Error.

As our Constitution is equally unfit for any Kind of Tyranny, whether of one or of many, so the first Scheme of ambitious Ministers and of designing Patriots has always been, altering the Form of Parliaments under specious Pretences.

In the troublesome Reign of Henry III. when we had some very powerful and active Patriots in England, the Commons in a Parliament at Oxford would needs take care of the State in a new Way, and for that Purpose obliged the King to consent, that the Supreme Power should be devolved upon 24, 12 to be named by them, and 12 by him, under the Direction of their Chiefs. These had both Regal and Parliamentary Authority; but the new Model did not long please even those that made it; for not long after, a new Parliament was called at London, where the Power of the 24 was devolved upon 3; and they again elected 9, who were to exercise Sovereign Authority; to the suffering of which without Impediment, they bound the poor King by Oath, with free Licence to his Subjects to arm and make War against him, if by breaking that Oath, he should attempt to restore the Constitution.

One of the first Steps taken by the Members of the Long Parliament in the Reign of Charles I. to overturn that good old Cause, which they pretended to maintain, was, their making illegal Distinctions, and obliging Members to declare themselves of a certain Faction, before they would allow them Seats in Parliament. This it was that lost them with the Nation, and gave Cromwell the Courage to turn them out of Doors. After this, that extraordinary Person, with the Advice of a few Patriots his Friends, new-moulded the Constitution, and by that Prerogative which their Patriotism gave them, settled the Number of the Members for Great Britain and Ireland at about 140, allowing the City of London and County of Middlesex, as many Members within one, as the two Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland together.

From this Time forward, that is, from 1653 to 1660, there sat several Parliaments, or rather Assemblies so called, but all by new Models, till Men, at the general Request of the People, declared for a free Parliament, that is, for such a Parliament as we now have, a Parliament warranted by our Constitution. To this, and to this only, in

Times

Times of Confusion, Recourse can be had for re-settling us, and securing our Liberties; neither can we be dispossessed of these, till we are deluded into suffering Alterations in that.

Craftsman, Aug. 15. N^o 789.

On the foregoing, &c.

THE ministerial Writers have a great deal to do, if it was in their Power, in Justification of their Patron, as to his Conduct both at home and abroad: But having nothing to say to the Purpose, in his Defence, they fly to the last Refuge of a desperate Faction; which is to abuse, insult, threaten, and give a false Turn to the true Point in Debate.

There never was a stronger Instance of this petty ministerial Craft than in two Gazetteers, against a List of Members of the new Parliament, distinguish'd in Roman and Italic Characters, for which these low Writers have represented me as a Papist, or a Jacobite; because marking Gentlemen, whom I sincerely think in the true Interest of their Country, in Roman Letters, is marking them as Romans, or Papists, because the Pope and the Pretender happen to keep their Palaces at Rome; and because I distinguish'd those, who are supposed to be Courtiers, in dirty, black, Italic Characters. N. B. This refers to the first Gazetteer on this Subject.

I can solemnly declare that I never had any Design of publishing any List, till an unknown worthy Correspondent was pleased to oblige me with it; nor was I inclined to distinguish Gentlemen in any Manner. But why am I to be mark'd out, in particular, as guilty of a *Scribble of Treason*? Have not many other Lists been publish'd, with distinguish'd Characters, before mine? Why, therefore, am I to be accused more than the rest? I think the List publish'd in this Paper is the most correct one, which has yet appeared in Publick, and therefore most honourably abused.

The high Crime laid to my Charge is, that I distinguish'd the Counties, and great Corporations, according to their respective Shares in the Land-Tax; which I still think, and shall always think, the best Calculation.

How the Memory of poor Bishop Burnet came to be traduced by these ministerial Hirelings, is past my Conception. I have often heard him call'd a Presbyterian Bishop by the Tory Party; but I never heard him call'd a Pope, till the Gazetteers were pleased to brand him with that Name, and I shall leave his learned Son to resent such a personal Insult.

But I know where the great Cause of Resentment lies. He left behind him an History of his own Times, which I believe was written from his Heart; in which he call'd the little Town Boroughs the rotten Part of our Constitution. He said right; and I will defy all these little

Whig-Scribblers to prove him in the Wrong. Will they pretend to say, or offer to prove, that several little beggarly Boroughs would have return'd such Members as they have done, if they had not been brought over by ministerial Influence and Corruption, against their natural Interest, and generous Benefactors? Will they have the Impudence to compare the Counties and populous trading Corporations with those little Boroughs, some of which do not represent above ten Men? To what therefore can it be owing that the Country Party should have so great a Majority in the Counties, Cities, and great Corporations?—Does it not shew the true Sense of the People?—Does it not shew that the Interest of the ministerial Party, at the late Elections, depended only on their Influence on those little Boroughs that are most liable to Corruption?—Nay, even some of those had the Virtue and Honesty to refuse Bribes, and chose Members in the Interest of their Country, against all the Solicitations, Menaces, and Promises of the Country Party.

Common Sense of the 15th contains Part of another Speech on the late famous Motion, which our Readers may see at the Beginning of our Magazine for June.

Craftsman, Aug. 22. N^o 790.

Some Thoughts on the best Means for carrying on the WAR.

Mr. D'Anvers,

I WAS much surprized, the other Day, upon turning over a Book of News-Papers in a Coffee-house, to see the following Paragraph in one of them, which pretends to secret Intelligence from France and the Hague; I mean the Daily Advertiser, in his pretended Letter from the Hague of July 13. It was this: "In a Conference, which Mr. Ameiot hath had with Mynheer Van bory at Versailles, he told him that the States General should not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the Declarations, which the Court of Great Britain hath made, of having no Intention of making Conquests in America."

I dare answer, both for the French and Dutch, that neither of them can be deluded by such Declarations; but my Difficulty is to account for the Reasons of making such Declarations, if such ever were made, which I rather suppose have not been made.

As to any positive Agreement of that Kind, I should think it the same Thing, as agreeing to take from the Enemy only their small Ships, and none of their first Rates; for let me ask, how is it possible to humble Spain, to get Reparation for our Expence, or Security for our future Trade, against an Enemy, who we know by too much Experience, is not

not to be controu'd by any other Argument than Force, without both recompensing ourselves for our past Losses, and securing ourselves for the future, by taking from them some proper Parts of their *American Settlements*, and annexing them to *Britain*, for a lasting Possession?

The true Way of doing this is, by fixing the Inhabitants immediately under a *Charter-Government*, under the best and most inviolable Model. This would people any Province we take, and would dispeople the adjoining ones. — I hope the *Charter*, or *Constitution*, whatever it may be, will be sent over with the Forces, and immediately publish'd, the better to invite the Inhabitants to a Revolt, as well as to secure the Possession afterwards; and that we shall not leave them dependent only on a mere Declaration of plausible Words. A War with *Spain*, carried on in any other Manner, can never reduce them to Reason; for making sudden Descents to demolish their Forts, and then to leave the Place, tho' it may be weakening, and a great Mortification to them, yet does it not open to us a sure and lasting Trade thither, nor secure to us a more quiet Trade to our own Settlements, the Disturbance of which was the Occasion of the War.

As to the Interception of their *Flota's*, that is attended with great Uncertainty; and the Sea is not cover'd with a Multitude of their Merchant-Ships, as it is with ours, all of which cannot possibly be provided with Convoy; so that a War, confined to the Sea Element, without taking from them, and holding some of their best Sea Port Towns, and rich Provinces on the *American Continent*, would be a ready Way to humble ourselves, not them.

But it may perhaps be said, that supposing all this to be true, and agreeably to these *Maxims*, the most authentick Assurances have been given us, that *Spain* will be attack'd in the most sensible Part; and that no Power shall be suffer'd to prescribe to and limit the Operations of the War; yet it may not be amiss to amuse *France* with an Expectation, so far as it can be done by general loose Declarations, that we don't intend any such Thing as a Conquest in *America*.

I answer, that we cannot deceive them by such Declarations; and we deceive ourselves if we think we can. They must know our Laws and Constitution so well, as to be acquainted that no Ministry among us could with any possible Safety go about to conduct a War by any such Rule, or Scheme, as favours the Enemy in the most sensible Part. The late Impeachments of the Earl of *Oxford* and Duke of *Ormond* for High-Treason, manifest what very nice and strict Constructions may and have been put on what the *Statute* calls being adherent to the King's En-

emies; and they are so late a Part of our History, and so publick a Transaction, that *France* cannot have forgot, or have been a Stranger to it. It is an Article of the Impeachment of the Earl of *Oxford*, [Article VIII.] that he advised and consented to the Order the Queen gave to the Duke of *Ormond* to avoid engaging in any Siege, or hazardous Battle. It is a Treason-Article in the Impeachment of the Duke of *Ormond*, [Article III.] that he endeavour'd to persuade the confederate Generals to raise the Siege of *Quefnoy*, and at last declared he could act no longer against *France*, and cover that Siege. So very nice a Matter is the Subject I am speaking of, that Part of the Oath every Member of both Houses takes, is, to do his utmost Endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, and his Successors, all Treasons, and traitorous Conspiracies, which he shall know to be against him, or any of them. For Treason has this Mystery in it, in our Law, that it is ever supposed and stiled to be against the King, his Crown, or Dignity; but yet no Approval does excuse, nor can an express Pardon from the Crown be pleaded to an Impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

To what End therefore could such Declaration or Intimation as I have above-mention'd be made? As I can see no good End, I will conclude that no such Declaration has been made, but in the Fancy or Imagination of such puny Politicians as we sometimes hear talk with wonderful Humility, how that *France* would never endure that we should take *Cartagena*, and hold it afterwards with its Province annex'd; that *France* would not let you make a Settlement on the rich Part of the *Spanish Continent* in *America*. As if it was any Way material whether the *French* liked of it or no; or, as if every Plantation we have abroad, every Harbour we have either abroad or at home, was not all against their Good-liking, and what they would not let us have, if they could help it. We thank God, we have a Protestant King, with a Protestant Family to succeed him, all against the Good-liking of *France*, and much more so than any Conquest will be that we shall make. I hope then that, as such Way of Discourie, that is, paying Deference to what *France* shall like, is what *Britons* have never been accustomed to; so, such Thoughts shall never sway in *British Councils*.

A War with *France*, any more than with *Spain*, is not to be sought for, or needlessly provok'd and rush'd into; as the Duke of *Buckingham* sought and provoked a War with both those Nations at once, when the *Exchequer* was empty, and before we were acquainted with the modern Method of raising great Sums upon Parliamentary Security: Yet a War with *Spain*, as appears by the Exploits of *Vernon*, may probably prove, if well man-

naged, as valuable an Event to Britain, as ever the Discovery of America by Columbus was to the Spaniards. Nor is a War with France to be timorously shunn'd; for as in Times past we had frequently Wars with that Nation, by reason of her Vicinity, so in Times to come it will certainly happen again, whatever we do, unless the Parts of the Globe change their Situation; and if we were to chuse a Time, we should take it in the Infancy of her increasing Power, by her cultivating Trade and Plantations abroad, rather than wait till she had arrived to the exorbitant Height her Schemes may bring her to.

However, be it War or Peace with that Nation, we ought to imitate them in cultivating and improving Trade, and our Plantations abroad, and have a View to increase them; it behoves us so to do more than them, for the Balance of Trade is so much against us in many Parts of Europe, that if it were not for our American Plantations, we should soon be without Ships, Seamen, Money, or Strength. We cannot therefore be too solicitous for their Prosperity; nor ought we to neglect fair and just Opportunities for the Increase of them; and their Prosperity depends on the Freedom and good Constitution of their Government; this invites Strangers to settle there, and Natives to abide, encourages Men to engage in Family-Life, and promotes an universal Industry. Hence it may be observed among our Settlements, that those which have Charters, and such of them as have the freest and best Charter-Governments, are, in Proportion to the Extent of their Limits, the most populous, powerful, prosperous, and consequently most beneficial to us: They, according to their Numbers, consume more of our Manufactures, employ more Ships and Seamen, produce for us greater Quantities of useful Commodities; and whatever is any Way got by the Inhabitants there, does finally center here in the superior or Mother-Country. Some of our Colonies are so happy in their Charter, as to have the Choice of their Governor in themselves, as Connecticut, and Rhode-Island have, (and Massachusetts's Colony formerly had, and do still chuse the Governor's Council) and what is the Consequence of this? That these have always good Governors. And it would not be at all amiss, (tho' I am far from meaning to propose any such Thing) if they all chose their own Governors, and so had always good Governors. For they are not held to their Allegiance by Means of the Governor, any more than the City of London is by the Mayor, or the Counties by the Sheriffs. Nay, on the contrary, when an ill one is sent, the Allegiance of the Colony is rather endanger'd by him; but what holds them in due Allegiance or Subjection is, the superior Power of Britain; their Distinctness and Independency of one

another, so that what may discontent one of them, may not at the same Time in the least affect the other; and the Freedom and Happiness of their Charter-Government (among those who have one) so that they rather fear, than seek or wish a Change. What stronger Ties over a People can there be in Nature, than these two; that it shall not be in their Power to revolt, and that it shall not be in their Will. This Wisdom would hold all the World in Allegiance far better and more advantageously than Troops, Garisons, Armies, Governors, and Bakhaws. And yet we reap from our Colonies the complete Benefit of Subjects, of free and rich Subjects, not by Taxes and Tribute, but by Means of our *Act of Navigation*, whereby they are obliged to traffick wholly with us; so that all their superfluous Wealth, gain'd by the Industrious, dissipated again, as is usual, by the Luxurious, terminates here in the Purchase of our costly Manufactures.—When ministerial Agents write on this Subject, their chief Thoughts will be how to adapt our Colonies to the Increase of ministerial Power; that there may be more Places to dispose of, as Governors, Deputy-Governors, Judges, Secretaries, &c. their great Concern will be how to get the Salaries of the Governors increased. I think I have somewhere read, and not long ago, of a Proposal made to create a new topping Place, of a Vice-Roy or a general Governor over all our Colonies. An excellent Project! for if he happened to be a bad one, as who knows what may happen? he might raise a general Discontent all at once throughout all of them.—But let me hasten to the Point I drive at. When our Fleet and Force comes to the American Continent, now in Possession of Spain, must they not be irresistible, if they make this Declaration to the Indians, to the Spaniards, and all People there, viz. “You shall be henceforward govern'd by Laws of your own making, enacted by a free, equal Representative, that shall be frequently, that is, annually chosen by you, or if you will, removeable by their Constituents at Pleasure. The Representative shall consist either of one House, or else of two, the one like a Committee to form and propose the Laws, the other to confirm; it shall be which is thought best, by the best Judges of such Matters, or as you yourselves shall fix. Your Laws shall be put in Execution by Magistrates of your own chusing, and chosen annually. You shall be protected by our Fleets; defended by our Garisons; that is, so far, and so far only, and so long only, as you yourselves shall desire. All we ask of you in return is, to confess a Sovereignty in the Crown of Great Britain, but limited as aforesaid; and to traffick wholly with us, or under such Regulations of Trade, as all our Colonies in this Part of the World do observe.”

* HOP-CASTLE.

ALL hail, *Hop-Castle*! may thy beauties
last

As long as hops regale the *British* taste.
Oh! lively emblem of thy master's mind,
Where wit and judgment wondrously are join'd:
Who mixes pleasure with advantage sweet,
And bids them like an happy couple meet.

Here's the gay scene of mirth and pleasure-
try,

Here social jokes as thick as hops can fly;
Here *Stella* with her † fancy and her eyes,
Brightens the dome, and doubly yields sur-
prize, [sies.]

And darts into my breast uncommon ecsta-
Thrice happy youth! who in her arms shall
twine,

As round the poles you see each am'rous vine:
On her may all the stars their influence
Sweet, like her own upon the dome, dispense.

Strange to reflect on what the fair can do!
She kindled up a star—and poet too.
Let but a wreath of † *Penclose* hops be mine,
To other bards the laurel I'll resign:
Let *Stella* still be *Muse*, I'll never court the
Nine.

To Mr. HENRY B—G—IL at Kensington.

THO' distant place and time have long
combin'd,

To root the seeds of friendship from thy mind,
Yet from dull cares your busy thoughts un-
bend,

And think one moment on a distant friend.
Let these rude lines your wonted smiles receive,
And to the Muse a kind reception give:
Tho' now obscur'd in this far northern clime,
Well pleas'd, she'll tell you how I spend my
time. [stray,

While you, dear friend, with devious footsteps
And fam'd *Augusta*'s pompous streets survey,
(Where pride, ambition, lust, and lux'ry dwell,
All lasting friends and advocates of hell!)
In health and ease I range my native plains,
Or spend a leisure hour with happy swains.
Oft ‖ *Penny-Hill* detains my ravish'd eyes,
Whose tow'ring summit seems to reach the
skies; [way,

There, when bright *Sol* o'er *Cancer* speeds his
And decks the arctic pole with lasting day,
Pleas'd, I review his first faint glimm'ring ray
Far in the *German* main reflecting play:

* A Banqueting-House of a new and most whimsically pretty Taste, built by Philip Henshaw.
Esq; of Dullstock in Berks, near Newberry, in the Middle of his Hop-Grounds. † A most

beautifully fine Star which Miss Du C—ls of London made for the Centre of the Dome. ‡ The
Name of the Hop-Garden and adjoining Woods. || Penny-Hill, a very high Mountain near

Middleham in Yorkshire. § Middleham Castle, where Edward IV. was a Prisoner.

** Cover and Ure, two Rivers which abound with Variety of large Fish, one runs on the South,
the other on the North Side, about three Furlongs Distance from the Town of Middleham.
†† Benjamin P—icks, Esq;

And then the brooding vapours swift ascend,
And the clear skies a spacious prospect lend;
The southern verge displays its pleasing scene,
Its flow'ry banks and meadows ever green:
Eboracum's high domes and glitt'ring spires,
And all its antique pomp my raptur'd soul ad-
mires.

The north and west attract the lab'ring eye,
Whose wealthy mountains *Peru*'s mines out-
vie;

Beneath, rich blooming fertile valleys lie,
Whose herds by thousands yearly multiply;
The nimble steed flies quick as rays of light,
Or swift as furious whirlwind's eager flight;
Here the gay deer, and there the lambkins
play, [mer's day.

And spend on flow'ry meads the happy sum-
Sometimes t' avoid *Sol*'s fierce meridian ray,
Great *Edward*'s pompous § prison I survey;
Its tow'ring arches form an awful shade,
But now, alas! their far-fam'd beauties fade:
The artful bridge the entrance safe to keep,
And the wide moat, a vast unmeasur'd deep,
The watchman's dome aspiring to the skies,
Corinthian tow'rs in beauteous order rise;
All render'd useless by untimely fate!

In vain I mourn their sad declining state!
The sultry day, the ev'ning calm succeeds,
And now I rove through ever-verdant meads;
To where loud ** *Cover* rolls its rapid tide,
Or orzy ** *Ure*'s meanders gentler glide;
We'll pleas'd, I sport the finny tribe among,
Or hum the fragments of a rural song:
Till sable night o'erclouds the crystal deep,
And all things lose their care in peaceful sleep.
But when fierce winter rages o'er the plains,
And nature lies deform'd in frosty chains,
In homely cottage close confin'd, I soar
On *Newton*'s wing, and nature's laws explore;
Or when the mighty †† patriot lends a smile,
To sooth my woes and tedious hours beguile,
Instant dull care and gloomy passions die,
And wintry hours like vernal moments fly.

Pleas'd I behold his mines (O happy store!)
Converted to relieve the helpless poor. [find,
Grant him, kind heav'n! extensive wealth to
Suiting his lib'ral hand and bounteous mind.
Reb'd of this joy, to cheer my drooping soul,
I quaff *Virginia* o'er a flowing bowl; [these]
With some choice friends (but few I have of
Whose social converse does my fancy please.
When tir'd with their dull chat and jarring noise,
Among the fair I seek more pleasing joys;
For there's that sweetness in a female mind,
Which in a man's we cannot hope to find.

But *Cupid*, envious of my happy state,
Determines now to change the course of fate.
Quick to my breast his fatal arrow flies
(More swift than light'ning) from *Eliza's* eyes:
My captive heart owns *Love's* triumphant
pow'r,

Which never cou'd disturb its peace before.
Ah! dear *Eliza*, author of my woe,
From whom alone my grief and joy can flow;
Wou'd you each morn with pity deign to smile
On your poor slave, 'twould all his fears be-
guile.

O then! with ease I'd hug the pleasing chain,
And never wish for liberty again.
But ah! her icy heart denies relief,
And quite o'erwhelms me in excess of grief.
Nor social friends, nor wine can now give ease,
Nor *Pope's*, nor *Swift's*, harmonious numbers
please;

Nor chearful day, nor silent night give rest,
E'en *Hetty* fails to ease my troubled breast.
May you, dear *Hal*, such restless hours ne'er
know;

Or taste the bitter pangs of love-sick woe.
No adverse fate thy peaceful hours annoy,
But rolling years still crown thy life with joy.
Indulgent heav'n, conduct thy hopeful youth,
To life's last verge along the stream of truth.
So when th' Almighty calls thy latest breath,
And fainting spirits yield thy clay to death,
' May guardian angels bear thy soul away
' To the bright regions of eternal day.'

J. K.

SONG to DELIA.

O *Delia*, lovely maid,
Regard thy faithful swain;
Remove what fears may grieve his mind,
Or swell his breast with pain.
Thy absence makes me sigh,
And all my lambskins mourn;
And ev'ry minute seems an age,
Till hither you return.
Tho' distant are our folds,
And cotte upon the plain;
Thou'rt dearer to my longing soul,
Than all the virgin train.

If that our robes agreed,
Or wou'd together play,
I come and join my flocks with thine,
And pass the time away.
I want thy pleasing talk,
To spend the tedious hours;
I want thy company to walk
The lawns and shady bowers.
The musick of thy voice
Transports my fainting heart;
No melody can raise such joy,
As thy sweet sounds impart.
I want thy beauteous face
To gaze at, and admire;

I want to meet those brilliant eyes,
Which first my heart did fire.

What other nymph's admir'd,
Or fair in *Strepson's* eye?

What nymph besides has power to charm,
When lovely *Delia's* by?

Ah! drive thy snowy flocks,
To graze upon the *Green* *;
Where † *Vella's* fields attract the sight,
And *Britain's* navy's seen.

There, on the verdant banks,
We'll sit, and calmly view
The stormy billows lash the shore,
And ships their voyage pursue.

There, on my oaten pipe,
I'll sing of *Delia's* praise;
And *Delia's* name alone shall be
The subject of my lays.

Ye gentle winds, which fan
The silent myrtle grove,
Go, tell my charming shepherdess,
That none but her I love.

The LASS of CHATCULL-GREEN.

A SONG.

THE lass of *Chatcull-Green*,
So chearful, sweet and gay,
When once with her I'd been,
Quite stole my heart away.
E'er I beheld her face,
I heard much of her fame;
For almost ev'ry place
Resounded her dear name.

How fine she wrote, I heard,
How well she lov'd a book;
And sighing swains declar'd,
How killing was her look.
How sweetly too she sung,
I likewise had been told;
And perfectly did long
The damsel to behold.

'Twas said, the beauteous dame—
Was witty, past compare;
To feel an am'rous flame,
What mortal cou'd forbear.
In short,—I fell in love,
Before I e'er had seen
That tempting turtle-dove,
The lass of *Chatcull-Green*.

But, with this lovely lass,
At *Cbarney*, when first I met,
How then the hours did pass,
I never shall forget.
My heart was so alarm'd,—
My hearing, and my sight,
And ev'ry sense so charm'd,
That I was slain outright.

I i i z

There,

* Stoke's Bay.

† Isle of Wight.

There, there I first beheld
 The lass of *Chatcull-Green*!
 A nymph that, sure, excell'd
 All nymphs that e'er were seen.
 The matchless fair one, there,
 That had such pow'r to please,
 From all the rest, tho' fair,
 I singled out with ease.
 'Twas there I saw her dance,
 I there first heard her sing;
 Then ventur'd to advance,
 And lov'd like any thing.
 As we together sat,
 I listen'd to her talk;
 (Oh most delightful chat!)
 And with her oft did walk.
 One day on pleasure bent,
 To *Willowbridge* we rode;
 And one day with her went
 To *Chatcull*;—blest abode!
 While others walk'd along,
 With her I lagg'd behind;
 Sometimes wou'd beg a song,
 And found the charmer kind.
 Great merit she display'd,
 Good nature and good sense,
 And such bright parts as made
 My am'rous heat intense.
 Her then I fondly kist,
 Nor—(to offend, tho' loth)
 Such beauty cou'd resist,
 Of mind and body both.
 Tho' bashful, I made bold
 The freedom to repeat;
 Nor can it well be told,
 How quick my heart did beat,
 But close salutes express'd,
 In ev'ry field and grove,
 And blushing cheeks confess'd
 The greatness of my love.
 With most respectful awe
 I took each eager kiss,
 Yet seemingly foresaw
 A more substantial bliss.
 For oh!—tho' thus afraid,
 In her, methought, I spy'd
 The dear, sweet, beauteous maid,
 That was to be my bride.
 To this intent, some years,
 The lovely lass I woo'd;
 With chequer'd hopes and fears,
 For favour humbly su'd.
 I then,—at whose defects
 She kindly did connive,—
 Was made, in all respects,
 The happiest man alive.
 Some obstacles, I own,
 Occasion'd much delay;
 But, at the last, came on
 The dear, delightful day *.

For oh!—the beauteous dame,
 The comfort of my life,
 At *Broughton* church became
 My own dear, wedded wife!
 Oh heav'nly honey-moon!—
 Oh transient, earthly joys!—
 The time came on full soon,
 That we must sympathize.
 The *small-pox*—(dire disease!)
 E'er long—(oh dismal case!)
 Did on my fair one seize †,
 And dazzling charms deface.
 When this fell out, the fair
 Sev'n months had scarce been join'd:
 But nothing can impair
 The beauties of her mind.
 Such virtues oft improve,
 When exercis'd with ill;
 Such grace my soul with love
 And admiration fills ‡.
 No tongue, tho' e'er so glib,
 Nor poet, for his life,
 Can fully e'er describe
 The worth of such a wife.
 Who then can duly prize
 The matrimonial state?
 Or who, the blissful joys
 Of mutual love relate?
 And now ten years are gone,
 Since we our willing hands
 (How swiftly time runs on!)
 Conjoin'd in holy bands.
 But love, that no decay,
 If true, cou'd e'er confess,
 No time can take away,
 Nor accidents make less,
 No cross can ever prove
 My constancy to shake;
 My spouse I e'er shall love,
 For *Molly Barbour's* sake.
 And when, at last, we quit
 This transient, earthly scene,
 In heav'n, oh! may I meet
 The lass of *Chatcull-Green*!

PHILOGAMUS.

In Christi Mundum judicaturi Adventum.

SUPREMÆ dic musa mihi miracula Lucis,
 Æthera quæ species accendit dira furoris!
 Corripitur rapido flammæ turbine cælum;
 Concutitur domus alta Dei, vastoque fragore
 Infremit, ac mundi moles operosa laborat.
 Numinis, en! magno intonuit clangore mi-
 nister,
 Quo sonitu vasti nutant fundamina mundi,
 Parturiunt tumuli, & cineres in morte cal-
 scunt.
 Apparet Christus ventorum advectus ab alis,
 Terrificum indutus claro pro tegmine lumen,
 Aligerum

* April 6, 1730.
 London Magazine, Vol. IV, p. 153.

† November 15, 1730.

‡ See The Constant Admirer,

Algerum ingenti Regem comitante cetera.
Tempora non illi multo sudore madescunt,
Aut rorant rubris in vultum horrida guttis;
Flamma caput circum immenso splendore co-
ruscant, [brant:

Igneſcunt oculi, atque manu fera fulmina vi-
Tantum eſt a miſero Judex mutatus ab illo,
Quem Solyma occiſum crudeli morte peremit.
Vanescunt ſtellæ, nitidique volumina cœli,
Atque axis rutilo ætherius populatur ab igne.
Conſidunt ſtructæ turres, decora alta potentum,
Et pereunt uſtis aurata palatia regnis,
Ac reges varios jam lamentantur honores.
Continuo auditur vox Judicis alta ſupremi:
Ætheriæ mentes, noſtri, patriſque miniſtri,
Ex merito a pravis cauti ſecernite juſtos;
Vita manet caſtos, & mors æterna nefandos.
Magnæ ſecedunt gentes, ſtant ordine longo
Immenſæ turbæ, quas vis divina coercet,
Ut paſtor teneros cogit cum matribus agnos,
Aut ovibus miſtos ſecernit vallibus hædos.
Hos ſpes, atque illos triſtis circumvolat horror.
Aſpiciens blande innocuos, & flumine lucis
Effulgens, verbis ſic ſolvit ora beatis
Judex: Felices, in cœli regna venite,
Quos favor æternus tali dignatur honore
Numinis, atque beat juſti clementia Patriſſ
Propitium reddunt magnum nam facta Paren-
tem.

Horreſco referens, quis Judicis ora tremendi
Accendit furor, & circum populante procella,
Suſcitât horrendos ignes, flammæque ſonoras?
Intonuit: Pravi, nigros decedite in ignes,
Quos furor æternâ renovabit Numinis irâ.
Fit fragor horrendus, diſulſo cardine mundus
Diſtrahitur, vaſtumque orbis pateſcit hiatus,
Ex quo terribiles contorto vortice flammæ
Ascendant: lugent correpti turbine diro,
Reſpicit at nullos armata potentia ſletus,
Perque genas lacrymæ ſero volvuntur inanes.
Præcipites rapit, ah! miſeros immenſa vorago,
Occulitque chaos, quos juſti Numinis ira
Deſtinat ob ſcelera ad ſævos ſine fine dolores.

J. DINSDALE.

A CHARACTER.

By RICHARD SAVAGE, Eſq;

FAIR truth, in courts where juſtice ſhould
preſide,
Alike the judge and advocate would guide;
And theſe would vie each dubious point to clear,
To ſtop the widow's and the orphan's tear;
Were all, like York, of delicate addreſs,
Strength to diſcern, and ſweetneſs to expreſs;
Learn'd, juſt, polite, born ev'ry heart to gain;
Like Cummins mild, like Forteſcue humane;
All eloquent of truth, divinely known;
So deep, ſo clear, all ſcience is his own.
Of heart impure, and impotent of head,
In hiſ'try, rhet'rick, ethicks, law, unread;

* The Honourable William Forteſcue, Eſq; one of the Juſtices of his Maſteſty's Court of Com-
mon Pleas.

How far unlike ſuch wortbies, once a drudge,
From ſound'ring in low caſes, roſe a judge.
Form'd to make pleaders laugh, his nonſence
thunders,

And, on low juries, breaths contagious blunders.
His brothers bluſh, becauſe no bluſh he knows;
Nor e'er 'one uncorrupted finger ſhows.'
See, drunk with pow'r, the circuit lord expreſt!
Full, in his eye, his betters ſtand confeſt;
Whoſe wealth, birth, virtue, from a tongue
ſo looſe,

'Scape not provincial, vile, buffoon abuſe.
Still to what circuit is aſſign'd his name,
There ſwift before him flies the warner, ſame.
Confeſt ſtops ſhort, conſent yields ev'ry cauſe
To coſt, delay, endures 'em and withdraws.
But how 'ſcape priſ'ners? to their trial chain'd,
All, all ſhall ſtand condemn'd, who ſtand ar-
raign'd.

Dire guilt, which elſe would deteſtation cauſe,
Prejudg'd with inſult, wond'rous pity draws.
But 'ſcapes ev'n innocence his harſh harangue?
Alas!—ev'n innocence, itſelf, muſt hang;
Muſt hang to pleaſe him, when of ſpleen poſ-
ſeſt;

Muſt hang to bring forth an abortive jeſt.
Why liv'd he not ere ſtar-chambers had fail'd,
When fine, tax, cenſure, all, but law, pre-
vail'd;

Or law, ſubſervient to ſome murd'rous will,
Became a precedent to murder ſtill?
Yet, ev'n when patriots did for traytors bleed,
Was e'er the jobb to ſuch a ſlave decreed;
Whoſe ſavage mind wants ſophiſt art to draw,
O'er murder'd virtue, ſpecious veils of law?

Why, ſtudent, when the bench, your youth,
admits; [he ſits;
Where, tho' the worſt, with the beſt rank'd,
Where ſound opinions you attentive write,
As once a Raymond, now a Lee to cite,
Why pauſe you ſcornful when he diſturb the court?
Note well his cruel quirks and well report;
Let his own words againſt himſelf point clear
Satire, more ſharp than verſe when moſt ſevere.

ERRATUM. In the Poem, entitled, *The
Employment of Beauty*, in our *Magazine* for
June, Page 302. Col. 1. Lin. ult. read thus:

A breath, whoſe fragrance vies with vernal
blooms.

TO LAURA.

SEE, beauteous maid! all nature ſmiles,
And day new paints the bluſhing ſkies;
Lo! from that golden cloud a ray
With pleaſure ſtrikes your brighter eyes.
Hark! how the groves in concert vie,
And catch the ſweet melodious ſound,
While birds in rapture ſing their loves,
And artleſs muſick warbles round.

Hear,

Hear, in that shade, the turtle coo,
And pour warm transport from his breast;
Oh! let me on your bosom lean,
And be with equal passion blest.

ALUMNUS.

To the two L—N—RE HEROES, upon
their Quarrel about a certain young LADY;
friendly shewing,

THAT in these days it wondrous odd is,
To hear of fights about a goddess.
'Tis true, in times of yore we read
Of crazy knights of peerless meed,
And errant heroes so besotted,
To blunder on as Don Quixot did:
They idly thought each fancy'd fair one,
Whose charms had struck them to the bare
bone,
Must, after being told their scars
And drubbings, rest for ever theirs:
But surely, in these wiser ages,
We ought to reason more like sages,
And from the conduct they have shown,
Be wise enough to form our own.—
'Tis eas'ly seen, the same's the folly
For Dulcinea, or for Molly;
It matters not for which we bear
Many a broken pate and scar;
Since, when the victor humbly throws
Himself and trophies at her toes,
Most meekly craving, that she'll take
This outrage, offer'd for her sake,
By way of instance to assure,
How mad he'd be, had he the pow'r:
They each will give the same advice,
' To purge, and to phlebotomize,
' To use, this frenzy to disable,
' A regimen most vegetable,
' With Chryse's aqueous beverage.
Should this in time your blood assuage,
And set your reason right again,
You're well rewarded for your pain.

The MISTAKEN PHYSICIANS.

TWO able physicians as e'er prescrib'd
physick,
On B—n's illness were sent for to Cb—ck:
Each took my l—d's pulse, and most solemn-
ly felt it, [smelt it;
Then call'd for his urine, view'd, tasted, and
On sight of the water M— cry'd out, it was
plain, [a vein;
That my l—d had a fever, and must breathe
You are right, brother M—, and beside, ad-
ded S—,
Who vouch'd this water, no doubt, had a stone;
You're out, quoth the nurse, and both of you
miss it;
For it was not my l—d, but my l—dy that
p—st it.

The COMPLAINT of ARIADNE, out of
CATULLUS.

N. B. The Poet, in the Epithalamium of
Peleus and Thetis, describes the Genial Bed,
on which was wrought the Story of Theseus
and Ariadne, and on that Occasion makes a
long Digression, Part of which is the Sub-
ject of the following Poem.

THERE, on th' extreamest beach, and
farthest sand,
Deserted Ariadne seem'd to stand,
New wak'd, and raving with her love she
flew [pursue
To the dire shore, from whence she might
With longing eyes, but all, alas! in vain!
The winged bark o'er the tempestuous main;
For bury'd in fallacious sleep she lay,
While thro' the waves false Theseus cut his
way;
Regardless of her fate who sav'd his youth,
Winds bore away his promise and his truth.
Like some wild Bacchanal unmov'd she stood,
And with fix'd eyes survey'd the raging flood.
There, with alternate waves the sea does roll,
Nor less the tempests that distract her soul.
Abandon'd to the winds, her flowing hair,
Rage in her soul, express'd; and wild despair:
Her rising breasts with indignation swell,
And her loose robes disdainfully repel.
The shining ornaments, that dress'd her head,
When with the glorious ravisher she fled,
Now at their mistress' feet neglected lay,
Sport with the wanton waves that with them
play.

But she nor them regards, nor waves that beat
Her snowy legs, and wound her tender feet;
On Theseus her lost senses all attend,
And all the passions of her soul depend.
Long did her weaker sense contend in vain,
She sunk at last beneath the mighty pain;
With various ills beset, and stupid grown,
She lost the pow'r those ills ev'n to bemoan:
But when the first assaults and fiercer surprise
Were past,—and grief had found a passage at
her eyes,

With cruel hands her snowy breast she wounds,
Theseus, in vain, thro' all the shore resounds:
Now, urg'd by love, she plunges in the main,
And now draws back her tender feet again.

Thrice she repeats the vain attempt to wade,
Thrice fear and cold her shivering limbs in-
vade:

Fainting, at last, she hung her beauteous head,
And fixing on the shore her eyes, she said;

Ah, cruel man! and did I leave for thee
My parents, friends, (for thou wast all to me)
And is my love, and is my faith thus paid?
O cruelty unheard! a wretched maid,
Here, on a naked shore, abandon'd and be-
tray'd!

Betray'd

Betray'd to mischiefs of which death's the
least,

And plung'd in ill too great to be express.
Yet the gods will, the gods constrain'd by you,
With vengeance thy devoted ship pursue;
O'take thy sails, and rack thy guilty breast,
And with new plagues th' ill-omen'd flight
infest.

But tho' no pity thy stern breast could move,
Nor angry gods, nor ill requited love,
Yet sense of honour sure should touch thy heart,
And shame, from low unmanly flight divert.
With other hopes my easy faith you fed,
A glorious triumph, and a marriage bed;
But all these joys, with thee, alas! are fled.
Let no vain woman, vows, and oaths believe,
They only with more form and pomp deceive.
To compass their lewd ends, the wretches

swear, [spare;
Of oaths profuse, nor gods, nor temples
But when enjoy'd ——— [scur.
Nor broken vows, nor angry heaven they
But oh ye women, warn'd by me, be wise,
Turn their false oaths on them, their arts,
their lies;

Dissemble, fawn, weep, swear when you betray,
Defeat the gamesters at their own foul play.
Oh banish'd faith! but now from certain death
I snatch'd the wretch, and sav'd his perjur'd
breath.

His life with my own brother's blood I bought,
And love by such a cruel service sought:
By me preserv'd, yet me he does betray,
And to wild beasts expose an easy prey!
Nor thou of royal race, nor human stock
Wast born, but nurs'd by bears, and issu'd
from a rock.

Too plain thou dost thy dire extraction prove,
Who death for life return'st, and hate for love.
Yet he securely sails, and I in vain
Recal the fleet, and to deaf rocks complain.
Unmov'd they stand; yet could they see and
hear,

More humane would than cruel man appear.
But I ———

Must the sad pleasure of compassion want,
And die unheard, and lose my last complaint.
Happy, ye gods, too happy had I liv'd,
Hast thou, O charming stranger, ne'er arriv'd;
Dissembl'd sweetness in thy look does shine,
But ah! th' unhumane monster lurks within.
What now remains? or whom shall I im-
plore,

In a wild isle, on a deserted shoar?
Shall I return and beg my father's * aid?
My father's, whom ungrateful I betray'd,
And with my brother's cruel murderer fled?
But Theseus, Ariadne's constant, kind,
Kind as the seas, and constant as the wind.
See, wretched ma'd, vast seas around thee roar,
And angry waves beat the resounding shoar,
Cut off thy hopes and intercept thy flight,
No ship appears to bless thy longing sight;

The dismal isle no human footstep bears,
But a sad silence doubles all my fears,
And fate in all its dreadful shapes appears.
Ev'n fainting nature scarce maintains the strife
Betwixt prevailing death, and yielding life;
Yet e'er I die, revenging gods I'll call,
And curse him first, and then contented fall.
Ascend, ye Furies then, ascend, and hear
My last complaints, and grant my dying
prayer,

Which grief and rage, for ill rewarded love,
And the deep sense of his injustice, move:
Oh, suffer not my latest words to fly,
Like common air, and unregarded die!
With vengeance his dire treachery pursue,
For vengeance, goddesses, attends on you:
Terror with you, despair and death appear,
And all the frightful forms the guilty fear.
May his proud ship, by furious billows toss'd,
On rocks, or some wild shore, like this, be lost.
There may he fall, or late returning, see
(If so the gods, and so the fates decree)
A mournful house, polluted by the dead,
And Furies wait on his † incestuous bed.

Juste heard, and did the just request ap-
prove, [radiant lights above.
And nodding, shook earth, seas, and all the

An old BALLAD.

HENCE false hopes, and quivering fears,
Anxious sighs, and torturing cares,
Fly from us to stately courts,
Fly where mimic fortune sports,
Where no joy in mirth we see,
And sorrows only real be.
From our country pleasures, fly,
Troops of human misery;
But come, placid serene looks,
Clear as be the crystal brooks;
Come, fair peace, and serene mind,
In these true pleasures we can find.
Here's no antick mask or dance,
But of kids that frisk and prance;
Here no wars are ever seen,
But 'tween two lambs upon the green;
Here no wounds are ever found,
Save what the plowshare gives the ground:
Here are no entrapping baits,
To hasten on too hasty fates,
Save of fish, who like men look
On the bait, but not the hook:
Here's no envy, save among
The birds, for prize of their sweet song:
O bless'd groves! O! may ye be
Ever mirth's best nursery.
May fair peace, and pure content,
Here for ever pitch their tent;
And through every circling year,
May we for ever find them here.

The Poet's Plea, the Officer and Doctor, &c.
in our next.

T H E

* Minos, King of Crete,

† He carry'd away her Sister Phædra.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

Extract of a Letter from on board the Argyle Man of War, July 21, at Anchor under the Isles of Bayonne.



BEING order'd by Sir John Norris to look into Ferrol, Corunna and Rondella, we perform'd it in 4 Days, and took a *Spanish* Brigantine, and put 4 more on shore: In our Return spoke with a *Portuguese*; she came the Night before out of *Camirina*, and left there a Sloop from *New England*, carried in by a *Spanish* Privateer. On the 17th we got off the Harbour *Camirina*, and sent our Boats in; on Sight of them the Sloop run on Shore, being Ebb Tide, but after a sharp Dispute, in which we had one Man kill'd, we boarded and took her; but not being able to get her away, burnt her. The 18th we met a *Portuguese*, on board of which we found a Pilot, which we wanted: The *Portuguese* told us there was no Ship at *Vigo*, but at *Rodendello* there was a very rich Ship, with Bale Goods from *London*, and 3 or 4 more Ships brought in Prizes. We sent immediately for the *Gibraltar* and *Grampus*, and came to a Resolution, at all Events, for *Rodendello*. At Day-light having taken this *Portuguese* Pilot, and it proving calm, in the Morning we saw a *Spanish* Bark about 40 Tons, and one about 30: We attack'd them with our Boats, took the largest, and put the other ashore, and set her on fire. This discover'd us to the whole Country, and prevented our Project of running up with *French* Colours. About Ten, came in a fresh Sea Breeze: We weigh'd, and with *English* Colours proceeded up the River, having given Orders to take no Notice of *Vigo*, but push on; accordingly at Four in the Afternoon we got into the Harbour or Bason of *Rodendello*, and anchor'd within Pistol-shot of the Ships, and took them all, being 4, *viz.* the *Portuguese* Ship with Bale Goods, a Brigantine from *Carolina* with Rice, and a Brigantine and a Snow laden with Coals: And tho' they had cut some of the Cables, and run aground, we got them all off, and by 12 that Night under our Sterns. The *Portuguese* Ship and two Colliers were unrigg'd, no Sails on board, but these Deficiencies we supply'd out of our Ships, and got them all ready to sail by Ten the next Morning, and by Noon, the Wind coming up Northerly, weigh'd, and with our five Prizes got to Anchor here at Eight last Night.

July 31. *Rich. Eades*, and *Catherine Lineham* were executed at *Tyburn*. (See p. 360.)

SUNDAY, August 2.

The Court went into Mourning on Account of the Death of the Queen of *Sardinia*, who died the latter End of June last.

TUESDAY, 4.

Their Excellencies the Lords Justices in Council were pleas'd to order, that the Parliament which stood prorogu'd to the 6th Instant, should be further prorogu'd to *Thursday* the 10th of *September*: And that the Convocations of *Canterbury* and *York*, which stood prorogu'd to the 7th Instant, should be further prorogu'd to *Sept. 11*.

SATURDAY, 8.

Their Excellencies the Lords Justices publish'd an Order for suspending Part of the late Act that prohibits the Exportation of all Kinds of Grain (*Rice* excepted) till the 25th of *December* next, so far as it relates to *Malt*; judging it to be very detrimental to the Kingdom at present, considering the plentiful Harvest, to prevent its being carried abroad.

WEDNESDAY, 19.

This Night *Jonathan Keate*, one of the Turnkeys of *Newgate*, having receiv'd Information, that *James Hall*, now a Prisoner there for the shocking Murder of *Mr. Penny* in *Clement's-Inn*, (see p. 359.) and *Henry Cooke*, the notorious Highwayman, (see p. 361.) had contriv'd to make their Escapes, and for that Intent were provided with Pistols, Saws, &c. he immediately went and acquainted *Mr. Akerman*, the Deputy-Keeper, (under *Mr. Bold*) therewith; whereupon they consulted together, and agreed to rush into *Hall's* and *Cooke's* Room (they lying together) about 12 that Night, when they found upon *Cooke* a Brace of Pistols, several Bullets, and a Quantity of Gunpowder; and searching about *Hall's* Bed, found under it a fine Saw, such as Watchmakers use, and another large double Saw, and that *Hall* had begun to file his Fetters off. Upon this they were confin'd in the Cells, and kept asunder.

SATURDAY, 22.

This Day, at 6 in the Evening, Sir John Norris in the *Victory*, and Admiral *Cavendish* in the *St. George*, with the *Royal Sovereign*, *Duke*, *Cambridge*, *Bedford*, *Elizabeth*, *Buckingham*, and the *Scipio* and *Bliss* Fire-Ships, arriv'd at *Spithead*.

THURSDAY, 27.

This Day 3 Bills of Indictment were found at *Hick's-Hall*, against *James Hall*; 1. For Petty Treason, in murdering his Master, *John Penny*, Esq; 2. On the Coroner's Inquest for the said Murder. 3. For robbing him

him of a green Purse with 22 Guineas in it, a Silver Case of Instruments cover'd with Shagreen, two Razors, &c.

The said *Hall* confess'd on Sunday last to a Friend of his (and on Tuesday to the Relations of the Deceas'd) that he had design'd this horrid Murder for about a Month; and that he had bought a large Oaken Stick for that Purpose, which he had laid under his Master's Bed, and had had it in his Hand 8 or 10 Times, in order to dispatch his Master, but his Heart fail'd him: That he owing Money, and his Affairs being desperate, he cou'd stay no longer; so on June 17, he drank himself up to a proper Pitch, and determin'd upon the Murder; and that his Master came home between 11 and 12 at Night, on Wednesday, June 17th last, pulled off his Stockings and Breeches in the outer Room, (which was his usual Method) and when he was in his Bedchamber, going to his Bed, he came behind him, and with all his Strength knock'd him down with the aforesaid Stick, and repeated his Blows till he was quite dead; after that, he stripp'd himself stark naked (to save his Clothes from being stain'd with Blood) and with a small sharp Knife cut his Master's Throat, (which he had no Occasion to do, for he was dead before.) He had the Cunning to mix the Blood with Water, to prevent its coagulating, by which Means he poured 2 or 3 Pots down a Grate opposite the Chamber-Door, and the rest he threw into the Coal-hole.—After which he tore off all his Master's Clothes and Shirt, and tied his Waistcoat about his Head, and carried the Body naked, (himself being then naked) and threw it into the large Hole of the Boghouse; and went back for the rest of his Master's Clothes, and put them down another Hole, where they were found on Tuesday last, with the bloody Shirt, &c. as he directed.—He own'd he took the Purse and Money, which he left with his Taylor, out of his Master's Pocket; and altho' there is a great Sum missing, and two Diamond Rings, denied his robbing his Master of any more than about 36 Guineas (which was in the green Purse in his Master's Pocket) and some Silver.

By a Packet from *Lisbon* we were advis'd, That two *English* Men of War accidentally in the Evening fell in with three *French* Men of War, off *Cadix*, whom they took to be *Spanish* Ships with Treasure from the *West-Indies*, and accordingly holed them; but receiving no Answer till the third Time of calling to them, and then a dissatisfactory one, they fir'd a Shot a head, which the *Frenchmen* answer'd with a Broad-side, on which a sharp Engagement ensued, that lasted six Hours. The *French* lost the Captain of their biggest Ship, and several of their Men, and were so heartily gall'd, that they were obliged to put into *Malaga* to rest: The *English* had four

Men kill'd, and 14 wounded, and had their Masts and Rigging greatly damaged.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

MR. William Sheldon, an eminent Italian Merchant, to Miss Beauchamp of Totenham High-Cross.

Cleve Moore, Esq; Brother to the late Sir Joseph Moore, to Miss Storer.

Right Hon. the Lord Forbes, to Miss Betty Gordon.

John Fortescue, Esq; High Sheriff of Cornwall, to Miss Tresutis.

Mr. Elderton, an eminent Wine-Merchant, to Miss Anderton.

Capt. William Farrel, of the second Regiment of Foot Guards, to Miss Arnold.

Peter Delme, Esq; Member of Parliament for Southampton, to Miss Pain of Elsbam in Kent.

Charles Frederick, Esq; Member of Parl. for Shoreham, to Miss Hudson, youngest Daughter to Sir Roger Hudson.

The Lady of the Lord Visc. Barrington, deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady of Sir John Barker, Bart. of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of Edward Gibbon, of Putney, Esq; of a Son.

DEATHS.

RIGHT Rev. Dr. Edward Synge, Lord Archbishop of Tuam, Primate and Metropolitan of Connaught, in Ireland; a Gentleman of true Piety, an excellent Scholar, and a great Divine.

Mr. Thomas Emlyn, at Hackney, in the 79th Year of his Age, a Gentleman of great Piety, Learning and Parts, formerly an eminent Dissenting Minister at Dublin, and remarkable for his Writings in the Unitarian Controversy, for which also he was a great and patient Sufferer. He was Father of Solomon Emlyn, Esq; Counsellor at Law.

Right Hon. John Verney, Esq; Master of the Rolls, Member of Parl. for Downton in Wilts, and Brother to the Lord Willoughby de Brook.

Mr. Serjeant Pryce, Recorder of Colchester. Roger Jones, Esq; formerly Member of Parl. for the Town of Brecon.

Rev. Mr. Hans De Veil, Son of Col. De Veil. Thomas Dallison, Esq; at his Seat at Plaxtol in Kent.

Edward Coles, M. D. at his House on Richmond Green.

Right Hon. the Lord Visc. Morpeth, eldest Son to the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle, and one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of York.

Major Langley, an old experienced Officer in the Army, and who was desperately wounded at the Batt'e of Malplaquet.

Hezekiah King, Esq; formerly Governor of Anjengo, for the East-India Company, and since one of their China Supercargoes.

K k k

Right

Right Hon. Lord Colvil, at Sea, as the Fleet was returning to *Jamaica* from *Cartagena*, a brave and experienced Officer in that unhappy Expedition.

Hon. Lieut. Col. Beckwith, at the Camp near *Colchester*; K. William gave him a Pair of Colours at the Siege of *Namur*, where he was shot thro' the Body with a Musket Ball: He was at the Taking of *Gibraltar*, and was one of those that defended it above seven Months against the united Force of *France* and *Spain*.

Sir John Bunts, at his Seat near *Sevenoaks* in *Kent*.

Martha Lady Skipwith, Wife to Sir George Skipwith, Bart.

Richard Roke, of *Weedon* in *Bucks*, Esq;

Sir Henry Williams, of *Guernewet* in the County of *Brecon*, Bart.

Right Hon. the Lord Kenmure, in *Scotland*.

On board the *Elizabeth* Man of War at *Spithead*, Capt. Durell, Commander of the said Ship, a very gallant and experienc'd Sea-Officer.

Right Hon. the Lord Nassau Powlet, Brother to his Grace the Duke of *Bolton*: He died suddenly, and has left several Children.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. John Brooke, to the Rectory of *Upton Parva*, alias *Waters Upton*, in *Shropshire*.—Mr. Richard Williams, A. M. to the Rectory of *Hawarden* in *Flintshire*, a Living of 500*l.* per Annum.—Mr. Towndrow, Fellow of *Jesuit-College* in *Cambridge*, to the Vicarage of *All Saints* in that Town.—Mr. Thompson, to the Living of *Gayton*, near *Northampton*.—Mr. Cha. Scottow, M. A. Fellow of *Bennet-College* in *Cambridge*, to the Vicarage of *Hampton* in *Arden* in the County of *Warwick*.—Brian Cole, M. A. had a Dispensation to hold the Rectory of *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*, together with the Vicarage of *Bishop's-Castle* in the said County.—And George Turner, M. A. to hold the Vicarage of *St. Ewall* in *Cornwall*, together with the Vicarage of *Milons* in the said County.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

CAPT. Law, late of the *Spence* Sloop, made Captain of the *Greenwich*, a 60 Gun Ship, in the Room of Capt. *Flemming*, who resign'd.—Lieut. *Bagrove*, one of the oldest Lieutenants in the Navy, made Captain of the *Advice*, a 50 Gun Ship.—Lieut. *Henry Dives*, made Captain of the *Rupert's* Prize.—Capt. *Hardy*, Son of Sir Cha. Hardy, made Captain of the *Rye*, a 40 Gun Ship, in the Room of Capt. *Lushington*, who resign'd.—Hon. Thomas Stanhope, Esq; second Son to the Lord *Harrington*, made Captain of a Troop in Lieut. Gen. *Honeywood's* Reg. of Dragoons.—Mr. Geo. Campbell, Banker in the Strand, appointed by William Stuart, Esq; Deputy Pay-Master of the *Pensions*, in the Room of the late *John Penny*, Esq; who was barbarously murder'd by his Servant.—Mr. Samuel Farlow, of *Tidefevell* in *Derbyshire*, appointed

Coroner, Escheator, and Clerk of the Market for the Honour of *Tutbury*, which extends itself into the Counties of *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester* and *Warwick*.—Capt. *Vincent*, late Captain of a Merchant-Ship, made Captain of the *Royal Oak* Man of War.—Lord *Forrester* made Captain of the *Lark* Man of War, of 40 Guns, in the Room of the Lord *Geo. Grahame*, who resign'd.—Earl of *Northeske* made Captain of the *Biddiford*, in the Room of Lord *Forrester*.—Capt. *Lingen* made Captain of the *Elizabeth*, of 80 Guns, in the Room of Capt. *Durell*, deceas'd.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

CHARLES Cbeaney, of *St. Dunstan's* in the East, Lighterman.—John Lumley, late of *St. Mary le Bone*, Maion.—Henry Grange the Younger, of *Hamel Hempstead* in *Hertfordshire*, Grocer and Tallow-Chandler.—Cha. Cutbert, late of *St. Anne's*, *Westminster*, Broker.—Lancaster Noone, of *Chelmsford* in *Essex*, Shopkeeper.—James Ashley, of *Wallgate* in *Lincolnshire*, Chapman.—Henry Huchcock, of *Whistlers-Court* in *Salter's-Hall*, Merchant.—Edward Jewitt, late of *Pickering* in *Yorkshire*, Flax-dresser.—Wm. Dakin, of *St. Andrew's*, *Holborn*, Distiller.—John Hume, of *St. Martin's* in the Fields, Carpenter.—Rich. Wellington, late of the Strand, Bookseller.—Mich. Dove, of *Goodman's Fields*, Vintner.—Tho. Ovens, late of *Bristol* Vintner.—Chr. Bacon, now or late of *Holt* in *Norfolk*, Grocer.—Geo. Bell, late of *Oxford*, Mercer.—Rich. Baker, of *Chard* in *Somersetshire*, Clothier.—Andrew Bell, now or late of *Long-Lane* in *St. Mary Magdalen* *Barnardsey's*, Tanner.—Wm. Bateman, late of *Bristol*, Innholder and Vintner.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from July 21. to Aug. 25.

Christned	Males 688	Females 688	1376
Buried	Males 1405	Females 1470	2875
Died under 2 Years old			1000
Between 2 and 5			232
5		10	113
10		20	96
20		30	261
30		40	283
40		50	305
50		60	246
60		70	147
70		80	127
80		90	57
90 and upwards			8
			2875

Hay 69 to 72*s.* a Lord.

ABOUT

ABOUT the End of last Month, a Declaration from *France* was handed about at *Frankfort*, importing, "That some Electors and Princes of the *Empire* have made known to his most Christian Majesty, as Guarantees of the Treaty of *Westphalia*, their Uneasiness at the King of *Great Britain*'s assembling a considerable Body of Troops, which may possibly be made use of to influence the approaching Election of an Emperor, or be employed against some Member of the *Empire*: That therefore, in order to make good his Engagements, he had resolved to cause some Troops to advance immediately towards the *Rhine*, to the End that they might be ready to march, in case of Need, to the Succour of the Electors and Princes who should claim his Guarantee; and that this Step ought not to be considered as tending to act contrary to the *Pragmatick Sanction*, but as having solely in View the Preservation of the Tranquillity of *Germany*, and the protecting the Freedom of the Election of an Emperor." And soon after the Marshal de *Bellisle* the *French* Minister there, sent circular Letters, acquainting the Princes and States of the *Empire*, "That the Elector of *Bavaria* having demanded the Forces stipulated from *France* by Treaties, his Majesty's Intention was to continue, notwithstanding, in the strictest Amity with the *Empire*, and that his Troops should observe the most exact Discipline." About the same Time the Elector of *Bavaria* published a Declaration to the same Effect; and added farther, "That the Princes and States of the *Empire* ought not to be surprized at his demanding a Body of *French* Troops. This Monarch is Guarantee of the Treaty of *Westphalia*, and he furnishes them as such; The same Reason did not take Place when the late Emperor called a Body of *Russian* Troops into the *Empire*: There was no Engagement between *Germany* and *Russia*; and yet these Troops made no Scruple of entering into the *Empire*, without the Consent of the States which compose it." Also about the same Time, the Elector *Palatine* published a Declaration, importing, "That a Body of *French* Troops was speedily to pass the *Meuse*, in order to enter the Dutchies of *Bergues* and *Juliers*, and as Guarantees to secure the eventual Succession of these two Dutchies." These Declarations being premised, the Body of *French* Troops designed for *Bavaria*, of about 30,000 Men, passed the *Rhine* near *Fort Louis*, in three Columns, on the 4th, 6th, and 8th Instant, and their Troops from the Camp at *Givet* and *Sedan*, designed for *Bergues* and *Juliers*, and said to be about 40 000 Horse and Foot, began to pass through *Liege* about the 19th. Thus the *French*, under Pretence of their being Guarantees, have marched two Armies into the Heart of the *Empire*, which shews how ridiculous it is for

any Country to have foreign Guaranties in what relates to their domestick Affairs.

On the 19th of *July*, a Detachment of *Bavarian* Troops from their Camp at *Schar-dingen*, surprized and took Possession of the City of *Passau*, which is a Sort of Key for entering from *Bavaria* into the *Austrian* Dominions, and seems to portend an Attack upon those Dominions; but we do not hear of its being as yet begun.

On the 24th of *July*, was published in *Sweden* a formal Declaration of War against *Muscovy*, and at the same Time, the Reasons or Motives for that Declaration, which are too long to be inserted here; but they plainly shew, that a State can never want Reasons for declaring War, when those at the Helm have a Mind for it; and the Behaviour of some other States has lately shewn us, that no Reasons are sufficient, when those at the Helm have no Mind for it.

Our last Accounts from *Constantinople*, dated the 6th of last Month, say, that a *Tartar* was just arrived there from *Asia*, with Advice, that *Kouli Kan* had declared War against the Grand Signior, and had assembled three Armies for invading the *Ottoman* Dominions, one about *Kars*, another about *Erzerum*, and the third near *Diarbequir*. If this Piece of News be true, it will have a very great Influence upon the Affairs of *Europe*, especially those between *Sweden* and *Russia*.

On the 21st of last Month, the *Austrian* Army under Count *Neuperg* in *Silesia*, quitted their Camp at *Bilau*, and march'd to a new one mark'd out for them at *Kilkau*; from whence, after several Incampments, they passed the River *Neiss* on the 28th, and came to a Camp marked out for them at *Baugmarten*. As the *Prussian* Army continues in their Camp at *Streslen*, which is but a small Distance from the other, many Skirmishes happen between small Parties from the two Armies, but neither Side has yet attempted to come to a general Battle, which is something surprizing, on the Side of the *Austrians*, if it be true, that his *Prussian* Majesty has absolutely refused the Conditions offered him, on the Part of her *Hungarian* Majesty, by Mr. *Robinson*, the *British* Minister at *Vienna*, who, towards the End of last Month, made a Tour from *Vienna* to the *Prussian* Camp for that Purpose. On the Side of *Prussia*, indeed, his Inactivity may be owing to his knowing that the Queen of *Hungary* will soon be attacked in *Austria* or *Bohemia*, by the united Forces of *France* and *Bavaria*, and perhaps in *Italy* by the united Forces of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sicily*; for we are told from *Naples*, of the 21st of last Month, that his *Sicilian* Majesty had, the Day before, signed the Act of Accession to the Alliance concluded between *France*, *Spain*, *Bavaria*, and *Prussia*.

ENTERTAINMENT and POETRY.

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SERMONS.

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